

**CAN EVERYBODY WIN?
DOWNTOWN LOW-INCOME COMMUNITIES UNDER PRESSURE IN
KINGSTON**

by

Margaret McCoy

Bachelor of Science
Montclair State College, Upper Montclair, New Jersey
1988

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of City Planning

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Signature of Author _____
Margaret McCoy

Certified by _____
Reinhard Goethert
Principal Research Associate
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by _____
Ralph Gakenheimer, Chairman
Master of City Planning Committee

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ABSTRACT

This thesis questions the conventional developer approach to urban renewal and argues for examining the feasibility of an alternative community-based approach. The urban renewal process planned for downtown Kingston involves the overall gentrification of the area and is contingent upon increasing the value of the commercial and residential property. However, it is argued that this plan may be hampered because it does not directly deal with the needs of the low income populations which fall within the plan's sphere of influence nor does it thoroughly examine the demand for the proposed property development.

The alternative approach to urban renewal views the revitalization process from the perspective of the low income communities living in the downtown area. Vital to the second method is the invested participation of the residents and the creation of a non-governmental organization to form links between the various institutions and actors.

It was found that the institutional relationships and distinctions between the different methods are not clear cut. Both methods involve similar institutions, but their goals and relationships differ. The question remains: should renewal occur through incorporation of the lower income groups living in the area or through real estate development? To explore this question a comparison is made between a community-led development initiative in Boston, the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, and the conventional developer approach currently under consideration in Kingston.

My study suggests that the alternative method is more likely to result in a vital downtown renewal. The conventional developer approach ignores their biggest problem and their greatest potential source of success—the current population. Can everybody win? I believe downtown Kingston will revitalize only if the two groups work together and set realistic goals for the development of the area.

Thesis Supervisor: Reinhard Goethert
Title: Principal Research Associate, Department of Architecture

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ASCEND	Association for Settlements & Commercial Enterprise for National Development, Jamaica
BSAJ	Building Societies Association of Jamaica
CAST	College of Arts, Science and Technology, Jamaica
CDC	Community Development Corporation
CRDC	Construction and Redevelopment Corporation, Jamaica
COK	City of Kingston Credit Cooperative
CSA	Caribbean School of Architecture
DSNI	Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, Roxbury, Massachusetts
GOJ	Government of Jamaica
JLP	Jamaican Labor Party, Jamaica
KMA	Kingston Metropolitan Area
KRC	Kingston Restoration Corporation
KRCHC	Kingston Restoration Corporation Housing Company
KSAC	Kingston & St. Andrew Corporation
LAC	Latin America/Caribbean Region
MIDA	Micro Investment Development Agency, Jamaica
MOC(H)	Ministry of Construction/Housing, Jamaica
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NHT	National Housing Trust, Jamaica
PFD	City of Boston–Public Facilities Department
PNP	Peoples' National Party, Jamaica
SIGUS	Special Interest Group in Urban Settlements
TCPA	Town & Country Planning Authority, Jamaica
TPD	Town Planning Department, Jamaica

UDC	Urban Development Corporation, Jamaica
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WCC	Women's Construction Collective, Jamaica

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INTRODUCTION

In many parts of the world, urban renewal projects have, historically, had negative consequences on the low income communities located within the project area. The provision of alternative, affordable, and suitable housing for the low-income families affected by the renewal has, unfortunately, been lacking from the urban renewal process. Secondly, many renewal plans are based on the concept that gentrifying the area will lead to opportunities for economic growth. The development pressure created by the gentrification process is more than lower-income residents can combat and they are subsequently displaced by urban renewal leaving behind, at best, an oasis for the middle class and at worst, vacant lots.

The 1980's, proved to be a difficult decade for providing low income housing in many areas of the world—both for areas affected by urban renewal and for those regions with insufficient supply of affordable housing. During this period, traditional sources of funding were less available than in the 1960s and 70s, and lower-income communities either housed themselves by whatever means they could find or turned to the streets for shelter. Currently, both internationally and in the United States, many national and local governments along with international lending agencies, have been looking for new alternatives for the provision of affordable housing. The alternatives, for the most part, are non-governmental, community-based initiatives and involve linking private and public organizations together in dynamic new ways.

In this thesis I investigate an alternative mechanism for incorporating low-income residents into the urban renewal process and contrast it to the customary developer-led approach to urban renewal. The new alternative I explore is an institutional mechanism with its roots in the community and which provides links to governments and other institutions and, most importantly, is directed by the community members themselves. This alternative entails taking participation one step further than traditional participation programs—allowing community members to direct the land and housing development in their area.

The setting for investigating this new alternative mechanism of community-based planning and development is downtown Kingston Jamaica. Currently, Kingston is, once again, undergoing a urban renewal process with the hopes of revitalizing its downtown. The traditional developer-led model currently being implemented is guided by a master plan, Vision 2020. The alternative mechanism proposed in this thesis is based a highly successful organization in Boston—the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative and draws on community and institutional resources available in Kingston.

This thesis is organized in five parts. In Chapter One, I will explore the socio-political and economic conditions prevalent in Jamaica in general and how they affect the conditions in downtown Kingston. In Chapter Two, I present the customary developer approach to urban renewal and describe how the implementation of this approach has impacted downtown Kingston in the past and describe current plans for implementing this approach. In Chapter Three, I concentrate on an alternative development approach, the community-controlled housing and planning initiative. In Chapter Four, I present a comparison of the two approaches for urban renewal. In the last chapter, I summarize conclusions

of the study and explore the possible broader applications of the lessons learned from comparing the two approaches.

Methodology

The primary empirical evidence for this study consists of field work conducted in January of 1994 and introductory field work conducted over a two week period in January of 1993, both in Kingston, Jamaica. The field work comprised a case study of a low-income community, Southside, which will be affected by renewal plans for downtown Kingston. The field work consisted of unstructured interviews with ministry officials, private developers, social workers, university professors, and community residents. In addition, a review of the secondary data available in Kingston was conducted to gather supporting evidence. The emphasis was not to obtain quantitative information but rather to understand the processes and perceptions involved in the renewal plans.

Further empirical evidence consists of field work conducted in Boston, periodically, throughout 1993 and until April of 1994. The field work comprised interviews with public officials in Boston and staff at the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative. The second case study explores the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative's impact on the Dudley community in Roxbury, Massachusetts. Again, the emphasis was not to obtain quantitative information but rather to understand the processes and perceptions involved in the renewal process that affected the community.

CHAPTER ONE

SETTING THE CONTEXT

I find it very difficult to adequately describe the conditions in downtown Kingston because when most people think of Jamaica they imagine beautiful beaches, mountains and peaceful rastafaris. Not only is the physical conditions in the area run down, but, peoples spirits are broken. Also, technical and academic documents rarely venture into adequately conveying the conditions brought on by the effects of poverty, political tribalism, violence and crime in which downtown Kingstonians must live. A recent e-mail message from the Habitat co-ordinator, who is working on a housing project in a settlement in downtown Kingston, conveys the conditions quite well (Appendix III). He writes about one of the many frustrations facing these communities—inadequate service provision;

"Logically, people have come up with another solution for human waste disposal. They shit in plastic garbage bags known locally as "scandal bags" and throw them into the gully that runs through the community. Every time there is a heavy rain, the bags float down the current into Kingston Harbour."

In this chapter I will describe both historic and current socio-economic and political conditions in Jamaica and, specifically, their effects on Kingston. Next, I will describe the history of urban renewal in Kingston and the impact of the renewal process on the physical land use in the city. I will also examine the government of Jamaica's (GOJ) previous attempts at meeting the housing needs of the low income communities residing in Kingston. Third, I will introduce the Southside community, a low income community located in downtown Kingston and the specific area of Kingston addressed in this thesis.

I. The Jamaican Situation

The paradox of the urban renewal process, in downtown Kingston, is the fact that developers have a ready supply of resources with which they will invest in capital improvements to gentrify/revitalize the downtown area but they do not have an *effective* demand for their product. On the other hand, the current low-income residents have a demand for housing and economic development and have a resource base with which to build upon but are unable to create an *effective* supply of resources to develop their community. Can everybody win? I believe downtown Kingston will revitalize only if the two groups work together and set realistic goals for the development of the area. Thus, the developers need the support of the current residents in order to revitalize the area and the residents need the support of the developers in order to improve their situations.

When thinking about the potential need for commercial, economic or residential (re)development in downtown Kingston it is important to keep in mind that neither Jamaica's population nor her economy is growing rapidly, nor is the country urbanizing at a fast pace. Jamaica's total population is a mere 2.4 million people and its predicted national population growth rate is low. Kingston did undergo high urban growth during the 1950's and 60's. However, since then, the rate of urbanization has slowed down and is predicted to continue to do so. In fact, Jamaica's urban growth rate is substantially lower than the rest of Latin America/Caribbean region (LAC). Only 52 percent of the Jamaican population (1.24 million) live in urban areas compared to an average of 72.3 percent for the LAC region. (World Bank, 1993)

Political Situation

Patronage is the predominant method of politics in Jamaica as it is in many parts of the world. Patron-clientelism is a dominant feature of organizing popular support for competitive political parties in many Jamaica. Clientelism can be defined as a reciprocal exchange of goods and/or services on a personal basis between two unequal parties. Carl Stone was the first to apply the concept of clientelism to the Jamaican political system. He concluded that clientelism permeated Jamaican society at all levels of the hierarchical structures in the economic, political, and administrative spheres, as well as among party officials, functionaries, bureaucrats, economic managers, and the lower echelons of the Jamaican society. The following quote may provide some insight into the depth of Jamaican clientelism:

"Vote for me and you might get a job,
Vote for my opponent and if I win,
You probably won't.
Harass my opponent in his electoral campaign and get a handout
for a meal."(Edie, 1991)

The effect of socio-political conditions on party political behavior is clear from the above quotation. Clientelism is most likely to flourish in situations where there is an inequality of wealth and power because those relationships develop by definition between unequal parties. Jamaica satisfies this condition. Close to sixty percent of the poor are locked into the patron-client relationships with members of parliament, councilors, civil servants or brokers for the party leaders, exchanging their votes for housing, jobs, food, bureaucratic favors or visas to the US and Canada. (Edie, 1991)

The lower-income earners, as a result of the vulnerabilities associated with poverty, are trapped supporting the middle-class's strategy of using

patronage to demobilize the lower class. There is no doubt that clientelist politics affects the individuals, communities, groups and classes that make up the grass roots of the Jamaican Labor Party (JLP) and the Peoples' National Party (PNP). They see their immediate and personal needs—housing, food and employment—partially satisfied by clientelistic politics. However, these interests are secured by a process which puts individuals and groups in the lower income groups in opposition to one another—either in the JLP or the PNP. The lower income class is denied unifying in support of interests they share in common. Thus clientelism tends to divide the working classes as part of the process which favors the interests of the middle class. (Edie, 1991)

II. Background on Kingston

A. History of Urban Development of Downtown Kingston

The old center of Kingston dates back from around 1700 when the city of Kingston was laid out by the British in a geometric pattern of straight streets crossing at right angles which lead on to a central square, The Parade, which acted as the commercial and administrative heart of the city. The rectangular street blocks around the square once housed the colonial elite but were later taken over by free blacks, runaway slaves and servants when the elite moved up north of the Parade around 1800-1850 in search of more spacious grounds. (Clarke, 1975) This marked the beginning of a long period of densification and deterioration of the old colonial housing blocks, enabling an ever increasing poor population to live near the city center through subdivision of the large houses into a number of rental units, each inhabited by a single household. By 1900 these subdivided housing blocks or tenement yards, as they came to be called, were already plagued by disease, overcrowding and unemployment,

leading to the initial outflow of wealthy households into the open lands of western Kingston. Southside, a neighborhood located in the downtown area, was once—200 years ago—the place of residence of the English, Jewish and Syrian merchants and traders shipping their goods in and out of the nearby port. There is almost nothing today which remains of that colonial period. (Schalkwijk, 1988)

Today downtown Kingston is a mixture of commercial units, retail shops, offices, and banks along the main streets, and residential housing along the narrow secondary roads and lanes. Very little upgrading or maintenance has been done in the downtown areas resulting in decay. Potholed streets, disintegrating sidewalks and garbage predominate in the area and the majority of the residential housing is poorly maintained and unsafe wooden and concrete units.

B. Government Assisted Low-income Housing in Jamaica

Until the 1980's housing was seen clearly as a service to be provided by the government. Governments since the 1940's took it upon themselves to provide housing for low income people and often followed along the predominant political-clientelist lines to the exclusion of others who are out of political favor. As a direct result of housing being viewed as a political handout, neither the private sector nor NGOs have a long history of being active in the low income housing market in Jamaica and the low income population are not accustomed to having to pay for housing. A 1992 article in the *Daily Gleaner*, "Living Free, Owners thrown out, capturers may get houses." exemplifies the public housing problems in Kingston.

About 600 people are living in houses for which they have not been paying rent for up to 10 years in Duhaney Park, Kingston. Some of them have used force and intimidation to chase out the legal owners.

The mortgage on one-bedroom unit was \$30 (approximately \$1US) and \$45 to \$50 on two-bedroom units. Because some of the legal owners were chased out, and gunmen occupied others, the Ministry officers had little chance of collecting.

Investigations by the **Sunday Gleaner** revealed two bizarre cases of dispossession. In one case a man said to be "middle-aged" was thrown from the window of his apartment by a group of men who said they wanted the house for a friend. The man moved out leaving the house to them.

In another case, a man in a two bedroom unit had difficulty in getting rid of a tenant with whom he had become dissatisfied. The tenant went to a set of men known for their violent behavior who threw out the owner's furniture and other possessions and put the tenant in charge of the house.

In interviews with Ministry of Construction and Housing officials I found out that the situation in public housing projects described above was not at all atypical. The ministry has been pursuing a policy of privatizing its rental housing units because it has proven to be very difficult for them to collect rent, maintenance and/or utility payments. Also ministry officials strongly believe that home ownership will bring a sense of pride to the occupants and they will subsequently take better care of the facilities. The Ministry will no longer be caring the burden of maintaining the buildings.

According to Mr. Ebanks, the Housing Economist for the Ministry, the Ministry currently has no funding available for new low-income housing initiatives. More so, the Ministry has begun implementing a policy of building high income housing with the expectations that they will be able to reap profits from these projects which will, eventually, be utilized to cross subsidize future low-income housing projects. The Ministry currently has two such projects underway, Oakland House Scheme and College Green. Mr. Ebanks was

skeptical of the likelihood of cross subsidization as a means for providing low income housing.

C. Kingston Ghettos

In Jamaica it is common practice to refer to low-income inner-city communities as ghettos. Southside is a ghetto located in the heart of downtown Kingston and was once a prestigious residential and commercial area until the 1960s when violence began in downtown Kingston, forcing the wealthy to flee the area and to create a New Kingston—up the hill and away from the violence. Because of Southside's prosperous roots, remnants of the physical infrastructure, streets, sewers, water, electricity and other services remain. The community covers an area of approximately 30 blocks of which fifty percent is vacant and the people live densely packed into yards on the remaining fifty percent of the land (Appendices II).

In downtown Kingston, there are many ghetto neighborhoods. To just name a few that come to mind, Jones Town, Trench Town, Rae Town, Tel Aviv, Majesty Gardens and Hanna Town. Beyond the ghettos and stretching out primarily to the west but also to the east are squatter settlements and other low-income communities with varying degrees of formal tenure status. There are a few lower-middle income communities but the middle and upper classes live uptown and out in the 'suburbs.'

Along with Tel Aviv, Southside represents the major residential neighborhood located in the current master plan (Vision 2020) which calls for the redevelopment of Kingston Metropolitan Area (KMA). The Kingston Restoration Corporation (KRC) is the primary agency driving the redevelopment

of the downtown area. KRC is a quasi-private corporation that is funded principally by USAID. The KRC is actively redeveloping the downtown area by encouraging commercial development and is hoping to redirect growth away from the now overcrowded New Kingston to downtown. They envision making downtown Kingston an attractive vibrant area which would hopefully bring back the middle and upper income residents to downtown Kingston.

III. The Southside Community

A. Ghettos and Squatter Settlements

When considering low-income community upgrading in developing countries it is important to recognize the distinctions between ghetto renewal and the more common squatter settlement upgrading programs. Gita Verma defines Inner City Renewal as a process by which a large area renews itself and changes its character to fit in with changing socio-economic needs. It is an amalgam of redevelopment, rehabilitation and conservation into an imaginative, forward looking plan with environmental, social and economic dimensions. The intention is to provide enough modernization of the physical fabric to allow the life of the community to go on, with the scope for both buildings and social systems to evolve and adapt to new conditions. (Verma, 1990)

Dae reminds us of some of the major conflicts which hamper inner city renewal. First, the conflict between property owners and property users. The property owners want to put the property back on the open market for redevelopment and the property users are struggling for survival in the inner city. Second, there is a conflict between residential and commercial interests which surfaces in the balance between the two uses. Third, conflict arises

between housing objectives and overall urban planning objectives. Housing objectives look for cheap residential redevelopments, building repairs and upgrading. Urban Planning objectives inescapably fall into setting alternatives based on 'optimal' use of high value land. (Verma, 1990)

Public and private sector objectives and capacities differ. Conflict occurs between what the planners see as necessary and political will to undertake the major reforms. Also, resource allocation in inner city development differs from the sites and services and periphery housing schemes. The sites and services and periphery housing schemes development plans can be viewed as a singular option whereas ghetto interventions generally need to entail more complex combinations of redevelopment solutions.

Southside is a JLP, low-income, downtown Kingston community threatened by the renewal plans. The renewal plan leaves the majority of the Southside residents with alternative living arrangements which are far from attractive. The alternatives are either 1) dislocating the community or 2) relocating them on the periphery. Both alternatives would undermine their social, economic and political survival mechanisms. Some of the residents have been living in the community for over 20 years and there are very few outsiders that come into the community to make a home there. Southside's economy revolves around its proximity to downtown and residents generate income in both the formal and informal sectors in the downtown area and/or receive remittances from friends and relatives abroad.

B. Household Survey

Inside the Jamaican ghetto exists a community that may be surprisingly stable and that possess more resources than most people commonly attribute to these communities. Paul Buchanan describes the Paradox of Thrift in his book, *Community Development in The 'Ranking' Economy: A Socio-Economic Study of The Jamaican Ghetto*. He points out that even though there is a high degree of savings in the ghettos, there is very little internal investment. Unfortunately, the savings end up flowing out of the community and into commercial banks who are unwilling to reinvest in the ghetto. In his study of four ghetto communities, approximately half of the people surveyed had bank accounts. (Buchanan, 1992) He stressed his concern about the fact that no matter how much ghetto people saved in formal institutions their savings still represented capital flight away from the communities because people were unable to take out loans from the banks they had invested in.

In 1990 the KRC commissioned a survey of the physical and socio-economic conditions of the Southside and Tel Aviv area of downtown.¹ The survey covered a ten block area within Southside and crossed the political border into Tel Aviv, from Fleet Street to East Street between Barry and Laws Streets (see map, Appendix II). The ten block area was selected principally because it ran across the political boundaries, was representational of the entire area, and contained potential housing sites. Some of the survey's findings confirmed KRC's belief about the area and other findings demonstrated surprisingly favorable results for the communities. The survey results below highlight that, contrary to popular perception, many of the residents are skilled and have stable

¹All information regarding the survey results are taken from the report by Elizabeth Phillips for the Kingston Restoration Corporation.

incomes. Also, the community is well serviced with access to water, electricity, sanitation, education, markets and other facilities located within walking distance.

Population

The total population in the survey area is 2,991 of which 1,452 (48.5%) are male and 1,539 (51.5%) are female. This finding, in and of itself, is very interesting because it is a commonly held perception that the majority of ghetto residents in Kingston are women and either very young or very old and poor. Also, a majority of the residents are of working age.

Age	Number	Percent (%)
0-9 years old	739	24.7
10-19	654	21.9
20-29	680	22.7
30-39	355	11.9
40-49	220	7.4
50-59	150	5.0
60+	193	6.5

Figure 1.1 Population

Employment

A total of 610 (20.4%) persons were employed full-time of which 368 (60.3%) were male and 242 (39.7%) were female. While deducing a working age population of 1,536, one can assume an unemployment or underemployment figure of 926 (60.3%). However, as the table below demonstrates, the survey also finds that there is a high percentage of skilled workers in the area with stable employment and many find employment in the informal sector which is not fully captured in the table below.

Type of Employment	Number (#)
Factory Workers	84
Vendors	60
Domestics	31
Skilled Workers	181
Unskilled Workers	64
Security/Police	46
Teachers	5
Small Business Operators	62
Clerical	28
Other	49

Figure 1.2 Employment

Households

A total of 1,087 households were found in the survey area. 537 (49%) of them are female headed households and were responsible for 1,670 (56%) of the population. The average male headed household had 2.4 persons whereas the female-headed household had 3 persons. Again, contrary to popularly held perceptions, inner city households are relatively small—possibly due to the difficulty of supporting larger families and the subsequent breaking up of

families. Also, the average family size was 3 persons (although the range was from 1 to 18).

A typical household is a 'yard' type dwelling with communal water facilities and each room is occupied by a separate household. The average yard population is 13. The number of rooms each household occupies is as follows:

Rooms	Number (#)	Percent (%)
one	839	77
two	185	17
three	63	6

Figure 1.3 Households

- o most families do have electricity (the majority of which is illegal)
 - o 95% of the yards have piped water (the majority of which is illegal)
 - o 88% have toilets, out of 270 toilets, 267 are flush toilets with 3 pit latrines.
- the ratio of people per toilet is 11:1.

Occupancy Patterns

(resident's response, may be questionable)

Tenure Status	Number (#)	Percent (%)
own property	67	6
rent property	495	46
live rent free	513	47
caretaker	12	1

Figure 1.4 Occupancy Patterns

The survey highlights many key issues about the community. First, despite the high level of underemployment many residents do have skills and have a steady source of income. Secondly, the housing stock has been poorly

maintained and the people live in densely packed households. Thirdly, only 6% of the residents are owner occupiers. The other 94% of the population have no legal claim to the property they occupy. The developers involved with Vision 2020 are primarily concerned with working with the owner occupiers. However, the conductor of the study and former community organizer for KRC, Elizabeth Phillips', professional opinion is that it is unlikely that middle income persons would want to live in these neighborhoods. She concludes that the planners must either decide on a massive relocation exercise (which she does not recommend) or develop a policy to address the present population.



Southside Yard



Corner Garden in Southside



Corner House in Southside

CHAPTER TWO

DEVELOPER MODEL FOR URBAN RENEWAL

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Developer-led Model For Urban Renewal

Urban renewal, and specifically, the housing development component of urban renewal is customarily accomplished in either of two different ways. The first method involves a process whereby the city maintains total control. The city develops the plans and provides the zoning, and when the land is ready to develop, they put out a request for proposal and a contract is issued for the project to a developer. The second method entails public authorities working with community development organizations which are more involved in the planning process and either function as developers themselves or hire developers to work with them.

In the United States, the first method has historically met with little success. Land was cleared but either no developers were willing to develop the property or development gentrified the area and the standards imposed by the city displaced the lower income owners. In the urban renewal projects of the 1960's the city planners were renewing downtowns across America for a clientele that was looking towards the suburbs. (Keyes, 1969 & Frieden and Sagalyn, 1989) Sociologist William Michelson studied survey data on the choices and preferences of a sample of city and suburban residents in order to see how many of them really wanted the kind of housing that downtown planners were promoting. He found that 85 percent of the people preferred to live in single-family homes, and most wanted to live on lots of one-third to one-half acre.

Eight people out of ten went to work by car and fewer than one in ten by public transit. And even if the time and cost were equal, nine out of ten wanted to keep driving.

Michelson then searched his sample to see how many people in it matched the full profile of suburbanites that the planners wanted to attract to downtown living, that is, people who owned single-family homes but wanted to move to apartments, who want to move from a large lot to a smaller one, who wanted to move from their present neighborhood to one closer to the center of the city, and who would choose to go to work by transit rather than car if the time and costs were the same. Of 748 people in the sample, not one fit the profile. His conclusion had to be that downtown plans were a misfit or as he titled his article, "Most People Don't Want What Architects Want." (Frieden and Sagalyn, 1989)

However, there are recent cases of conventional public agency led successes. In an interview with Sherry Flashman of the City of Boston-Public Facilities Department (PFD), she spoke of recent success with city led housing development. In Franklin Field, a neighborhood similar to Dudley, the city has recently developed over 200 affordable housing units for the community in less time than it has taken to develop housing through Community Development Corporations (CDCs). However, Sherry felt that even though the community was highly involved in the planning process, it was unlikely that a community organization would be maintained after PFD left.

The second method—public authorities working with community development corporations—became prevalent in the 1980's when municipal

governments grappled with housing problems of a size and severity seldom seen in the United States since the Great Depression. (Davis, 1994) This method is a part of what is broadly known as the third sector. The third sector is a private, non-market alternative, also referred to as non-governmental organizations, the independent sector, the non-profit sector, or the social economy. Third sector housing's primary objectives are to ensure housing affordability (Davis, 1994). The third sector is more involved in the initial planning process and works to develop housing for the community. The third sector manifests itself in various different institutional arrangements. I explore one manifestation in the next chapter. In the rest of this chapter I describe the first method of city-developer-led housing development and its impact on downtown Kingston.

B. General Redevelopment Model

Both models, the general developer model and the community-controlled model, work within the same institutional framework yet their institutional relationships, goals, mechanisms and motivations are different. Their perspectives are also different. While the developer model examines its impact on the municipality as a whole, the community developer model's perspective is that of the community. The general redevelopment model follows traditional neo-liberal economic theory and is driven by the real estate market through which it generates profit by increases in land values.

In the general developer model, the state or surrogate state, (USAID in the case of Jamaica) maintains control over the developer. Without the funding of the state the developer would be out of business. The redeveloper entity can take many forms. In some cases it is a quasi-public or quasi-private entity, such

as a development authority, or, in the case of Kingston, the developer can be a private corporation. The privateness or publicness of the agency is on a continuum. The entity is dependent upon the government to fund its activities.

The developer agency's goals are to stimulate the urban center's contribution to the region's economic development through increases in the value of real estate; thus increasing the urban centers contribution to the regions tax base. Through heavy capital investment in structural gentrification of the area, the developer achieves his future vision of revitalized downtown. The figure below describes the redevelopment-model.

General Redevelopment Model

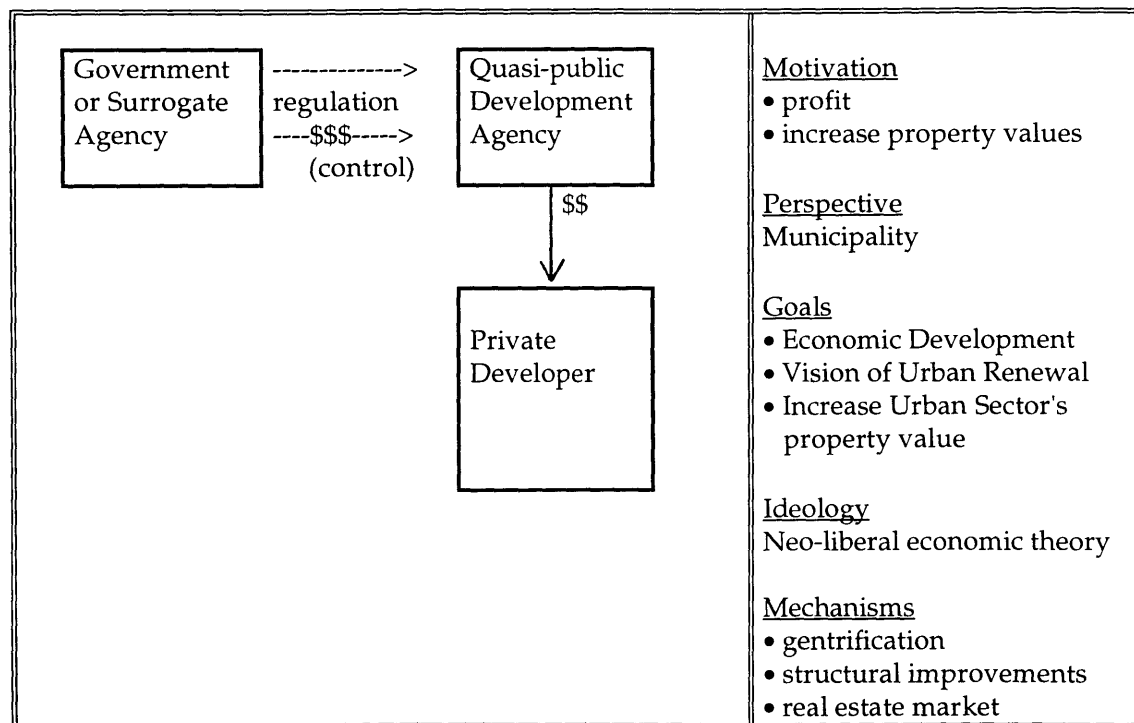


Figure 2.1 General Redevelopment Model

II. KRC CASE STUDY

A. Background

The government of Jamaica (GOJ) and major business leaders have taken measures to reverse the pattern of decay downtown before. The Urban Development Corporation (UDC), founded in 1968, is a parastatal agency charged with the redevelopment of the historic waterfront. The UDC began by developing the waterfront to the west of downtown as an industrial trade port. The city property south of Port Royal street to the Harbor Street was cleared out. The bulldozer technique was applied to the low-income settlement living on the property. Unfortunately, slum clearing is still practiced today in Jamaica.

A massive redevelopment program was instituted by the UDC. The Jamaica Conference Center, Oceana Hotel, Bank of Jamaica and Scotia Bank office towers, the UDC office tower, Kingston Mall, Ocean Towers luxury condominium tower and several parking lots were constructed. The redevelopment program met with limited success. Occupancy rates remain extremely low at the 300-room Oceana and the conference center sits unused for most of the year. Attracting other convention and conference activity to the center has proven to be a difficult task. (Strategic Planning Group, Inc., 1994)

To date little further development has occurred in the UDC waterfront redevelopment area. Much of the cleared land remains vacant. The hotel declared bankruptcy and was sold this summer. The office buildings are in use and the government occupies much of the space. The inability to continue the waterfront development project has had a significant negative economic impact on downtown Kingston. The downtown business community and the

downtown residents have not realized the intended benefit from the massive urban renewal program.

B. Inner-Kingston Development Project

In 1989, the planning for an inner-Kingston development project to be led by the Kingston Restoration Corporation (KRC) began. The goal of the project was to contribute to Jamaica's need for increased investment and employment opportunities. Its purpose was to provide additional workspace suitable for the expansion of light manufacturing and mixed commercial activity and to help restore Kingston as a center for economic activity and job creation (Telgarsky, 1989). The project has been plagued by many set backs. The KRC operations have been constrained by the absence of traditional municipal government powers, and the private sector has yet to overcome its reluctance to risk funds in inner Kingston. Also, there is a significant lack of GOJ involvement in Inner Kingston redevelopment. Despite the difficulties, the project has been successful at creating a number of jobs, of which, 24.7% actually went to downtown residents. (Merrill, 1988)

To further the Inner Kingston development project, in 1992, the KRC entered into a joint venture with the UDC, the Town Planning Department (TPD), the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation (KSAC), the Jamaican Chamber of Commerce and the Town and Country Planning Authority (TCPA). The first step for the KRC and this joint venture was to analyze the issues of decaying downtown Kingston and reverse the social and economic consequences it has produced. (Strategic Planning Group, Inc., 1994) Towards this end, the KRC has been developing a Master plan, Vision 2020, to guide the development process.

The plan is comprehensive in nature addressing both the commercial and residential redevelopment needs of the downtown area.

C. VISION 2020³

Goals

Vision 2020 is a plan for downtown Kingston which focuses on establishing a series of physical and socio-economic improvements deemed necessary to re-instill the leadership position of the city. The stated general priorities of the plan are:

- utilize entertainment as a catalyst to bring a broad cross-section of the local population downtown;
- relocate government offices back downtown;
- redress economic degradation and social problems for downtown residents;
- complete the west Kingston market/transportation hub and relocate vendors away from the parade area;
- restore downtown's traditional retail/office center functions and revitalize the retail focus of downtown;
- the need for substantial housing development for all income levels to maintain the 24 hour vibrancy of downtown.

Plan Ideology/Concept

The philosophy and/or ideology behind the strategic planning of the urban renewal in Vision 2020 is traditional and somewhat optimistic. It is optimistic in that it calls for the creation of commercial space, yet the demand for the space is not so clear. It is traditional in the sense that the redevelopment of the area calls for its gentrification. This gentrification does not incorporate nor take into consideration the needs of the current population residing in the

³ The details presented on Vision 2020 come from the report, Vision 2020: A Redevelopment Plan for Downtown Kingston, Jamaica (Revised Draft), Florida, 1993.

downtown area. Successful residential development, as defined by the plan, is dependent upon attracting middle and upper income residents to the area. In order for this to happen, a large number of the current residents will have to be removed and the safety of the new residents ensured. Ensuring the safety of new residents will be a difficult task due to the current level of violence associated with political clientelism and crime prevailing in the area.

In Vision 2020, it states that the lack of success of the UDC's previous attempts at urban renewal is not the failure of the UDC's design nor the plan but rather naiveté about the social and economic conditions necessary to support it. Vision 2020 goes on to say that the current plan will not suffer a similar fate because it is based upon community action and a reuse of the existing urban fabric where ever possible. I fail to see the leap in thinking. The current plan does not incorporate the existing community and fails to take into consideration the demand for the space they are creating or the real potential for attracting a middle class downtown. They need to deal in a meaningful way with the population that lives there. By removing them they are merely displacing the problem at best and at worst ignoring the fact that the problem will return to haunt them as it did in the 1970s.

Tourism

One of the main forces behind the plan is the attraction of tourism to the area. "Tourism offers an intriguing opportunity to not only return Kingston as a preeminent destination city in the Caribbean, but also provide a ready employment market for the thousands of low-skilled workers in the metropolitan area." (Strategic Planning Group, Inc., 1994). This is another example of where the developers are looking at their ability to provide a supply, but it is not

very realistic about the potential demand for their products as highlighted by the following sentence taken from Vision 2020. "(Tourist) activities can usually be underway within one year from initiation and can be easily integrated with the hospitality and convention business already in place downtown." Indeed, but where will the tourists come from?

Changing the Residential Composition

The Kingston Restoration Corporation Housing Company (KRCHC) was established as a subsidiary of KRC in December of 1993 to facilitate the development of housing solutions for downtown Kingston. The recent motivation to move on the housing program is driven by pressure on KRC from some of its members/funders to move forward on the housing component of KRC's three year business plan. The housing company is a joint venture, with KRC being the principal partner, and KRC's role is to provide project management service and property management. (KRC, 1994)

Vision 2020's approach—again, the guiding plan behind KRC's housing company—toward residential development comes across clearly in statements made in the plan, e.g., "The residents of the downtown represent the lowest economic sectors and lack the wherewithal to be able to maintain the properties themselves." (Strategic Planning Group, Inc., 1994) Thus justifying the removal of the non-owner occupiers with the attitude that lower income people are incapable of improving their circumstances.

In one breath the KRC states that they want to incorporate the residents of downtown and not remove the residents and in the next, they say the opposite. One of the first goals of KRC's community development foundation is to coordinate the removal of the squatters from their homes. This implies that only

the 6% owner occupiers identified in Liz Phillips study are considered legitimate residents and are the only residents that possess any property rights in the community.

The master plan calls for several different types of housing solutions—for all income groups. In order to facilitate housing development they are interested in pursuing land assembly to overcome some of the obstacles of assembling enough land in the neighborhood. How different is this land assembly from the UDCs slum clearing in the late 60's? They plan to facilitate land assembly with the following mechanisms: 1) the use of GOJ or parastatal agency-owned lands, 2) the rigorous enforcement of building codes and development order, 3) delinquent tax seizure, 4) compulsory acquisition, 5) establishing a special taxing district wherein properties are taxed at the full value of their development allowance (most insidious of all) and 6) forfeiture of properties being used for specific illicit criminal purposes. These techniques, if employed would successfully dislocate the residents and all but the few owner occupiers may remain. Even the owner occupiers may not be able to afford to remain if the techniques are successful and the tax may price them out. But what would be left in the wake of land assembly? Keep in mind that outside people fear for their lives while in these neighborhoods and do not dare to venture down here after business hours.

According to the logic of Vision 2020, the use of subsidies which cost the government little money and are most effectively handled should be employed. These include; site demolition and clearance, insuring compulsory acquisition costs, employing ground leases, site assembly relocation assistance, land write-downs and deferred land payments. The plan calls for developing community-

based organizations and or corporations but the implication is that they are for a new residential population—not the one that currently exists in the area.

D. Other Recent Attempt At Developer Provision of Low-Income Housing

The government turned to a private developer in 1991 to produce much needed low income housing. The West Indies Home Contractors began what started out to be a low income housing project in a town just west of Kingston called Portmore. The housing project was financed by the National Housing Trust and the government of Jamaica, which received a favorable loan from the Venezuelan government earmarked for low-income housing. As the project advanced it became clear that the actual cost of producing the housing and related services would inhibit low income families from being able to afford the housing. Portmore's location, a working class, safe, periphery area made it attractive to middle income families and the units were quickly swallowed up by middle income families. Also the town is serviced by public transportation which brings workers to and from their jobs in Kingston in about an hour's commute each way. The less affluent families for whom the project was originally intended were left aside.

CHAPTER THREE

COMMUNITY-CONTROLLED HOUSING AND PLANNING

In this chapter I will first explore why participation of community members is thought to be particularly effective. Next, I will explore how NGOs, as part of the third sector housing market, can be a effective mechanisms for the delivery of land and housing in low income communities. Then I will introduce an unique and highly successful, U.S. third sector organization, the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative in Boston, Massachusetts (DSNI), from which lessons will be drawn for community-based initiatives for Kingston.

I. COMMUNITY-CONTROLLED MODEL

A. Participation in Community-based Housing

Planning for Sustainable Communities, a paper by Fannie Mae's Office of Housing Research, suggests that development which seeks to alleviate poverty cannot occur without direct participation by those affected by the planning process. In the paper they define participatory development as a subjective concept which includes improvements in living standards and poverty alleviation that is sustainable in the long-run. Participation is seen as a process by which the populations affected, particularly the poor, can join in and exercise influence over the policy formulation, design alternatives, investment choices, management, and monitoring of development activities in their communities. (Bhatnagar, 1992) Participation is in part integral to the process because the planners do not understand the needs of the poor. Thus, it becomes the responsibility of the planners of development—local and national organizations

and governments, international donor organizations, and multi-lateral organizations—to guide such development so that it is participatory, sustainable and organized in a manner to meet the needs of the populations affected. The UN's The Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000 describes its housing strategy as follows:

"an approach whereby the full potential and resources of all the actors in the shelter production and improvement process are mobilized: but the final decision on how to house themselves is left to the people concerned. Ultimately an 'enabling concept' implies that the people concerned will be given the opportunity to improve their housing conditions according to the needs and priorities that they themselves define. (Smith, Hardlow and Wilson, 1994)

B. Third Sector Housing

Some NGOs active in housing development have become a part of what is becoming known as third sector housing. (Davis, 1994) Davis draws from US experience and identifies a need to provide housing for low-income families and to preserve affordability for as long as possible. In order to preserve affordability, third sector housing has developed. The third sector is made up of new models of housing tenure which represent clear alternatives to both the market and the state. The third sector is made up of organizations that are privately owned and controlled, but that exist to meet public or social need, not to accumulate private wealth. What does it mean for housing to be securely within this private, non-market domain? The housing would have three characteristics:

- *It is privately owned.* Title to residential real estate is held by an individual, family or a private corporation. The property is owned by neither an agency of the state nor a municipal corporation (public housing authority);

- *It is socially oriented.* The property's primary function is to meet social needs of current and future occupants, not to accumulate wealth for the property's owners. While the need for safe, decent and affordable housing is paramount here, the property's social orientation often includes a collaborative component as well; that is, individual households are linked together in a residential network of pooled risk, mutual aid and or operational support;
- *It is price restricted.* A contractual limit is placed on the future price at which the property's units may be rented or resold, preserving their affordability for a targeted class of low to moderate income residents, leading to sustainability (Davis, 1994).

C. Forming Links

The third sector, which includes NGOs (through the process of participatory development), can play a vital role in a new kind of international cooperation by working with communities and governments to form linkages, and in some cases redefine concepts of state and community for more efficient and effective planning and development.

The ability of NGO's as intermediaries to reach local organizations and link these to macro level initiatives is unique and critically important. The first set of factors that enable the strategies to form links include:

- 1) commitment by governments and other actors in the formal sector to make participatory development work;
- 2) more accurate and representative information about the needs, priorities, and capabilities of the local people as well as more reliable feedback on the impact of government initiatives and programs;
- 3) adaptation of programs to meet local conditions so that scarce resources can be employed more efficiently;
- 4) lower cost to the public for services such as technical extension, nutrition, education, immunizations, and credit through local organizations and institutions;

- 5) delivery of better quality and demand responsive services;
- 6) mobilization of local resources to augment or even substitute for scarce governmental facilities and services; 7) cooperation in new programs; and
- 8) increased public recognition of governmental achievement and legitimacy (Bhatnagar & Bhuvan, 1992).

A second factor which enables NGOs to form links is the availability of and access to relevant *information* regarding proposed development interventions. A third factor is the provision of *resources* that develop and enhance the capacity of communities and individuals to participate in the development process. The fourth factor is the existence of a strong NGO community to provide vertical and horizontal linkages among the various actors in the participatory development process.

Indigenous, intermediary NGOs, possess particular advantages due to their "flexibility, informality, commitment and participatory style." Instead of NGOs being an alternative to the state, NGOs serve the important function of intermediation, interacting with both the state and the market as "support linkages rather than control linkages." NGOs can forge linkages between the local and national institutions to more effectively communicate the needs of the populations involved. In addition to providing essential services such as credit and infrastructure facilities, they can also provide the capacity-building elements essential for effective participation by grass-roots organizations. NGOs must assume the crucial role of intermediaries, and act as the translators in and among different levels of cultural, political and economic realities guided by a vision for the future.

D. Some Positive and Negative Attributes of the Community-Based Housing Strategy

Rachel Bratt draws attention to important considerations about community-based housing. Below parts of Bratt's table from her recent article, "Community-based Housing: Strengths of the Strategy Amid Dilemmas That Won't Go Away," is shown with comments relevant to the Jamaican case.

Positive and Negative Attributes of the Community-Based Housing Strategy

Housing		
Positive Housing problems that probably would not be addressed are alleviated	Negative: Volume of production is too low to be significant.	Responses to Negatives: a. Some housing is better than no housing. b. Little low-income housing is being produced in any other way, and the demand is acute c. Volume could be increased with sufficient publicly provided financial and technical supports.
Jamaica Specific. The GOJ has no current plans to develop new low income housing.		
Capacity Development		
Positive 1. Community-based housing groups often branch out to provide social service programs such as day care, job training, or elderly services. 2. Community-based housing programs can provide important personal benefits to both to local citizens who are members in the community-based organization and to residents. The former gain useful experience in housing development and management and the later usually gain some control over their living environments.	Negative: 1. Community groups are too inexperienced to assume responsibility for the complexities of housing development. 2. Many neighborhoods with serious housing problems without organizational capacity may be left out.	Responses to Negatives: 1. Many community-based housing groups have demonstrated their ability to do housing production, rehabilitation, and management. Newer groups could be assisted with sufficient public support. 2. Low income housing should also be produced by other sponsors, such as local public housing authorities.
Jamaica Specific. Identification of local leaders and capacity building will be key to the success of a community-based housing programs.		
Neighborhood Improvement		
Positive Community-based housing developments can help stabilize a neighborhood, serving as a hedge against displacement and gentrification.	Negative: It is very difficult to replicate a successful community-based housing program.	Responses to Negatives: Replication has been accomplished for several programs, notably the Neighborhood Housing Services program.
Jamaica Specific. Establishing a community-based housing organization will help unify efforts to combat displacement and gentrification.		

Figure 3.1 Positive and Negative Aspects of Community-Based Housing

E. Community-controlled Redevelopment Model

Again, both the general development model and the community-controlled model work within the same institutional framework, yet the institutional relationships, goals, mechanisms, motivations and perspectives are distinct. While the developer model examines its impact on the municipality as a whole and primarily is concerned with real estate development, the community developer model's perspective is based in the community and not society at large.

In the community-controlled model the state or surrogate state, (USAID in the case of Jamaica) maintains some control over the entity however, the community-controlled model looks for a diversity of funding sources in order to survive. While physical development, principally housing development, is an integral part of the community-controlled strategy, the model's other goals, such as organizing and mobilizing residents are less capital intensive. Without the funding of the state, the community-controlled entity would not necessarily dissolve.

The community-controlled entity's goals are to stimulate the community's ability to mobilize power and resources for the community and to develop affordable housing. It is indirectly concerned with the betterment of society as a whole. It's primary goal is poverty alleviation for the low income residents within its community. The figure below demonstrates the community-controlled development model

Community-Controlled Redevelopment Model

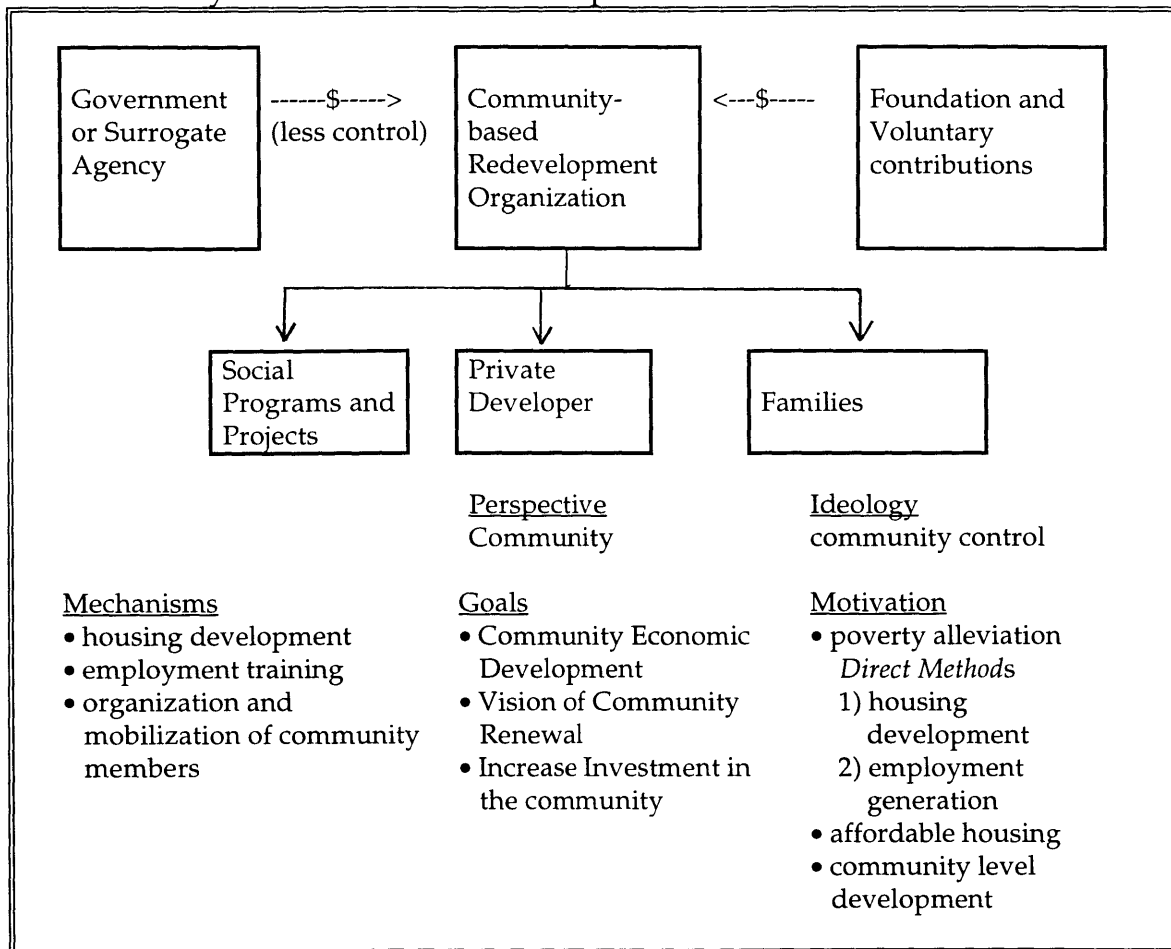


Figure 3.2 Community-Controlled Redevelopment Model

A community-controlled organization needs to form creative and innovative linkages with public and private agencies. Being on the cutting edge of development and formulating new kinds of relationships, however, takes time and therefore one has to anticipate longer periods for the various phases of project development. The community-controlled entity must first create a power base. Residents' participation is the most powerful resource for the entity. Second, identifying a monetary resource base from which the entity can sustain its power and derive a higher degree of control when negotiating with others is

critical. Therefore they need to identify large grants from private foundation to support the organization.

II. Case Study of Community-controlled Redevelopment –The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI)

A. History

The DSNI is a community-based (re)development and planning organization located in the Dudley neighborhood of Roxbury, Massachusetts.⁴ The DSNI was established as a reaction to development pressure emanating from the city of Boston and private speculators who were on the tail of the government's redevelopment (gentrification) plan for the area. The 1980's Boston real estate boom was threatening to exert tremendous pressure on the Roxbury neighborhood. Historically, the neighborhood had been neglected by the city's public services and has suffered from a lack of investment because of redlining mortgage lending practices. Also, illegal dump sites were operating in the area. The city government wanted to revitalize and gentrify the area to make the Dudley neighborhood attractive to middle income Bostonians.

As urban renewal removed lower-income people from areas where the city of Boston was investing (downtown), continued disinvestment strangled the redlined neighborhoods where most people of color lived. Redlining is the practice by which lenders and insurers brand certain neighborhoods as areas where they will not lend or supply insurance—or, more subtly, offer loans and

⁴ Roxbury is a neighborhood of Boston

insurance only at exorbitant premiums and rates. Redlining denies residents, however qualified, the mortgages, insurance, home-improvement and home equity loans so essential for a secure home and retirement. College education are often financed by the kind of home-equity loans absent in redlined areas. Loans and insurance needed for the start-up, expansion and protection of local businesses are also denied. (Medoff & Sklar, 1994)

The Dudley population is poorer and younger than that of Boston as a whole. Unemployment is at least twice as high and per capita income is half that of the larger city. Dudley's official poverty rate—more than one out of three residents—is nearly twice Boston's average. Over a third of Dudley residents are under 18 years old. One out of two Dudley children live below the official poverty line—a line set below what is actually needed to buy adequate food, housing and other necessities. (Medoff & Sklar, 1994)

In late 1984, the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) proposed a "New Town" strategy with a \$750 million complex of office towers, hotels, housing, historical parks and light manufacturing in the northern Dudley area and was called the "Dudley Square Plan." The plan called for building, high-, moderate- and low-income housing—with home ownership opportunities for families with incomes as low as \$20,000. That was just below Boston's median income in 1984 of \$22,200. In Roxbury, one out of two families earned under \$11,750. Many saw the New Town strategy as the familiar urban removal (Medoff and Sklar, 1994) and the residents of Dudley would not stand for it. The residents demanded to be recognized and wanted investment in the neighborhood to be directed at the current community not for an up-scale

market. The community's mobilization was a direct reaction to the impending development pressure and led to the establishment of DSNI.

The original DSNI charter was drawn up by the non-profit service agencies active in the community and included little community participation; the DSNI would be run by a board of local service agencies that would run the neighborhood initiative. The community members were not satisfied with the arrangement and the board of directors was re-organized until the community members constituted the majority of the board.

The group's first organizing campaign was, "Don't Dump on Us." The campaign successfully galvanized the community residents to exert pressure against the illegal dumps and to promote a cleaner and safer Dudley. Soon after, DSNI pursued eminent domain over the private property and the city owned land. Eminent domain power would be applied to land owned by absentee land owners, not community residents.⁵ DSNI is the only non-governmental organization that has been granted the power of eminent domain in the United States.⁶ DSNI works jointly with Boston's Public Facilities Department (PFD) in making eminent domain decisions and DSNI receives major funding for construction and administrative support from the PFD.

Today, DSNI is recognized as a highly successful neighborhood approach to low-income residential renewal. The similarities between the situation in

⁵ The breakdown of the ownership of the 1,300 parcels in the area: The BRA, State of MA, HUD and the City of Boston owned one third of the property and another third was in tax arrears.

⁶ In 1988 DSNI petitioned the BRA through MA Law Chapter (MGL) 121A that transferred the BRA's eminent domain power to DNI. The power came with no public money directly attached.

Kingston and Dudley are striking. While there are significant differences, I will argue that the similarities are strong enough that lessons from DSNI are highly applicable to the Southside neighborhood. I rely on The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative developed for DSNI by Stephen Plumber and David Nesbit of Dac International, Inc. in September 1987 and a recently released book on the history of the DSNI, *Streets of Hope*⁷ to describe the structure and history of DSNI. Although, with the passage of time, there were alterations made to the DAC comprehensive strategy the document served as the foundation for the strategy of DSNI. Further details of the comprehensive strategy are in Appendix V.

DSNI is not without its critics nor flaws. Nor is the political/social/economic dynamics in Boston Massachusetts entirely comparable to Kingston, Jamaica. Therefore, accommodating the differences in the two communities in the proposed strategy will be just as important as the similarities in developing a community-based initiative for Southside. I will examine some of the criticism and look at where DSNI has been unexpectedly successful.

Development Pressure

For over two decades, the Dudley Street Neighborhood (DSN) has suffered from the effects of disinvestment and neglect by the greater Boston community. In the 1980's, the neighborhood had been undergoing rapid transition and intense property speculation, with real prospects of large-scale displacement of current residents.⁸ Concurrently, local residents had been suffering from a shortage of affordable housing and a dwindling number of

⁷ Streets of Hope was just released in April.

⁸ At the time Boston was experiencing a real-estate boom.

employment opportunities. Local businesses were affected by the lack of suitable commercial/office space and support agencies were similarly affected by the pressure posed by a high local unemployment rate. Since the 1960's Southside has faced similar circumstances.

Organization of DSNI

The creation of DSNI reflected resident fears that the large-scale development plans would result in massive displacement of current residents. DSNI grew out of a series of meetings of local non-profit agencies determined to turn things around in the neighborhood for the benefit of those who live there. Unlike more traditional planning efforts, the DSNI process has been stimulated by community-based activity. Even so, the residents were not, initially, involved in the meetings.

Primary Objectives

the three primary objectives of DSNI were to:

- organize neighborhood residents and organizations to be an effective force in advocating for the neighborhood;
- assist the community in gaining control over the parcels of vacant land and abandoned property in the neighborhood; and
- create a comprehensive neighborhood development plan to benefit local residents and avoid displacement.

DSNI Comprehensive Plan's four components are planning, housing, economic development, and social services. These elements overlapped in a final vision of neighborhood development. The planning process included numerous community meetings. Recommendations specify how the city and the private sector address development in the city.

Development Concept

DSNI's development plan are based on the following assumptions.

- a neighborhood focus should be created to allow for the integration of economic development, social services, housing and planning activities;
- focus should incorporate existing housing stock, retail, and other activities to be included in a new construction/rehab approach;
- opportunities and the expansion of choices for existing residents should reflect the quality of life concerns expressed by residents for their community;
- any new development should reflect the current profile of the community and strive to be affordable to the range of current residents;
- a development opportunity should provide means of creating and capturing new values for community purposes. In addition, development activities for the entire community for shopping, housing, and community support services;
- any overall strategy for the community must address the potential displacement of current residents. Therefore, integral to the development strategy must be a commensurate effort to retain affordability;
- capacity building for human service agencies and local businesses should be integral to the development strategy.

Essential Principles

There are two basic principals that underline DSNI's strategy:

- critical mass – the process of aggregating sufficient land/space to affect the existing market or create a market of its own
- tandem strategy–the simultaneous development of new construction and rehab activity in a coordinated manner.

Housing Plan

A critical assumption of the housing program is the use of current vacant land and/or abandoned buildings. To that end, the DSNI plan calls for the construction of housing to be on 60% of the vacant land or abandoned buildings. The current tenancy in Dudley is 27% owner occupier and 73% of the householders are renters.

To carry out the housing plan the entity must mobilize the public and private resources available for a full-scale development effort. This entity should be able to design and implement partnerships between government, the private sector, and the community. The entity should be charged with the responsibility of bringing the essential parties to the table to implement a development strategy. It should be controlled by a policy group (board, steering committee, etc.) composed of neighborhood residents. Appendix VII contains more details about the various components of DSNI's comprehensive strategy.

B. Critical Issues And Problems of DSNI

DSNI's Relationship with the City

The City of Boston's–Public Facilities Department (PFD) is DSNI's major public partner in developing the area. In an interview with Sharon Flashman, Senior Neighborhood Planner at PFD, she stated that if you asked staff at PFD if DSNI is a good model for housing development, the answer would be definitely no. DSNI has a ten year history of operating in Dudley and has just recently finished its first housing units. However, if you asked the same people if DSNI was the best at community development and mobilizing the members of a multi-racial community the answer would be a definite yes.

DSNI has not been replicated in any other part of the city because the Dudley neighborhood was in a situation unique to Boston but similar to the situation Southside is currently facing. DSNI is also unique as an institution. because it is highly unusual for the city to give up as much control as they did to DSNI. For example, the city was on a joint board with DSNI to make decisions about foreclosure and the use of eminent domain powers. Normally, the city would maintain full control of the decision-making and would look towards community groups for initial plans and ideas. Because DSNI has a great deal of control, PFD's level of support for DSNI is much higher than with other CDCs projects.

From PFD's perspective, it is politically very difficult to foreclose on property. Thus, it was easier for the city to go through DSNI and have them take whatever heat came about from the owners. Even so, the land assembly was a long and the amount of time it took complicated process because of the number of different owners involved to assemble the land created a tension in their relationship.

Also from the PFD's perspective, there is a tension in their relationship with DSNI because they have different agendas. DSNI has a broad agenda and PFD has a specific housing target which is key to its agenda. PFD tried hard to get DSNI to adhere to the time table but ended up having to negotiate with DSNI in the end to extend the time table. The entire housing development process took longer for PFD working with DSNI than with other PFD projects. Ms. Flashman commented that DSNI really wanted to maintain their independence, so PFD had to change their rules and the way they did business.

To facilitate the land assembly process and to ensure long-term affordability of the housing units, DSNI created a land trust as they assembled the land in the neighborhood utilizing their eminent domain power. Developing a land trust also proved to be a major obstacle because banks were not ready to take on land trust investment. To raise capital to purchase the land the DSNI turned to the Ford foundation. Ford agreed to lend DSNI \$2.5 million, if certain conditions were met. The conditions and terms of the loan took a long time to negotiate because it was the first time that Ford had made such a sizable loan to a community group, and it was also the first time they loaned money for developing housing on a land trust.⁹ In total, PFD's supported the DSNI program with a \$4.5 million construction program in addition to administrative grants and technical support.

The major issue identified by Flashman regarding DSNI's responsibilities was that DSNI took on more of a developer role than they had originally intended—being a housing developer was not their orientation nor primary interest and had originally planned to work with developers to manage the construction of the housing. Unfortunately, the real estate market dropped significantly and developers were no longer willing to take the risk of developing housing in Dudley; thereby, forcing DSNI to take on more of a developer role than originally intended. The Dudley Neighbors, Inc. (DNI), the community land trust which serves as a land holding entity and created as a legal subsidiary of DSNI, is set up to hold land but not develop it. Even as DSNI ended up taking on more of a developer role than they wanted, they were still

⁹ In retrospect professionals at PFD state that it might have been better if DSNI dropped the Ford money and looked for funding elsewhere.

not willing to give up what control they had won from the city, even though the city would have been willing to take on a greater role in the housing development.

Subsequent PFD administrations proved to be less sympathetic to working out the stumbling blocks with DSNI. Dale Wittington of DSNI, commented recently that PFD was acting more like a bank than a public facility. However, PFD provides more financing to DSNI than it does on any other of their projects. Thus identifying another major consideration—how much of a financing role should the public agency playing in the relationship between the two entities?

The shift in the power dynamic from the city to the DSNI was the first time the city gave up so much control. DSNI's power base originated in its ability to mobilize people and create real political power. Without the political backing of the neighborhood they would not have been able to get the power of eminent domain—their second source of power. Once they had the power of eminent domain, they could effectively sit at the negotiating table with PFD as an equal, whereas normally the city remains in control when working with CDCs or other neighborhood groups.

The need to manage the cooption process between the city and DSNI is fundamental. DSNI's primary organizational need stems from its explicit goals of building affordable housing and stopping displacement in the Dudley area. The city was perceived as a direct threat to DSNI because of the potential of displacement and the disruption to their community associated with the City's efforts. In order to fulfill its goal of land control, DSNI compromised itself by

entering into the City's governing structure. Through eminent domain the city would be brought into DSNI through the PFD/DSNI partnership.

Ethnic Considerations

José Alicea was hired by DSNI to investigate causes behind the low participation rate of the Latino's population in the Dudley area. Dudley is a multi-racial neighborhood with Latinos, Whites, Blacks and Cape Verdeans making up the dominant groups with the majority of the population being Latino. However, the Latinos are predominantly tenants and the Cape Verdeans are the homeowners. (Alicea, 1988)

The Cape Verdean community drove the "Don't Dump on Dudley" campaign to close the dumps. DSNI was the instrument through which they were able to gain community-wide support and a conduit to pressure the sanitation department and the Mayor. The area became increasingly attractive once the dumps were closed and the residential property value rose. New neighborhood beautification campaigns followed. The campaign's victory gave DSNI a success story and placed the Cape Verdean homeowners into the core of the governing structure. The property owners, those with the most resources, benefited from the political action whereas the tenants, while benefiting from the cleaner environment, were subject to higher rents. The homeowners benefit more from development in DSNI than renters, therefore, participate more in the process. This exemplifies the need to create control mechanisms which prevent homeowners from benefiting disproportionately more than renters but, still have an incentive to invest in the community.

DSNI Stumbling Blocks

- *The lack of multiplier effects.* When a unit of housing is constructed in Roxbury to benefit a low-income family, the family benefits from the planning, funding and implementation. But there are also indirect beneficiaries: developers, lawyers, architects, planner, program administrators, builders, contractors, building supply companies, construction workers and others and Roxbury residents have been unable to get any of these jobs. As a matter of fact, they have not even been able to get the non-skilled jobs as construction laborers, nor the training to get the skilled construction jobs and other positions generated. They have been systematically locked out of the union hall at every level. The result from having one family move into a new unit ends up being the source of economic benefits that are exported to communities outside of Roxbury. (Alicea, 1988)
- *Tenants* in the DSNI area stand to lose most in the development process because the initial development raises their rents as the area becomes more attractive in the open market. Over 70 percent of the residents in Dudley are renters. The area's close proximity to downtown and easy access to public transportation make residents extremely vulnerable to displacement. Individuals within this group who may depend on the informal sector to earn their living may become victims of a higher quality of life for others. For example, a large portion of the Puerto Ricans in the area earn their living by fixing cars on the street or in their backyards. One of the first DSNI's policies, to promote a higher quality of life in the area, was the eradication of abandoned cars. These cars are usually on the street to be fixed by street mechanics and then sold for profit. DSNI created an abandoned car hotline as part of its strategy. The outcome is a better neighborhood for some, to the

detriment of the street mechanics, who probably moved into the area because they couldn't conduct business elsewhere. (Alicea, 1988)

- *Managing Organizer and Developer Roles.* There are potential risks to being an organizing agency and developer at the same time. How to manage the roles of organizer, developer and landlord becomes a tricky question. Traditionally, housing development and organizing have been accomplished by separate organizations. The community organization spins off its housing development activities as a separate non-profit corporation from its community organizing corporation. The neighborhood groups are often at odds with the economic and political interests of local government, banks and private developers and at the same time the key to successful development projects –grants, loans, building permits, government cooperation–must come from agencies and corporations that have traditionally been more a part of the problem than the solution. Thus it may be difficult for a group, who has been fighting a bank's redlining policies, to receive financing from the same banks. Developers shy away from confrontation and community organizers do not have to compromise their campaign strategy for fear of jeopardizing a development contract.

Development contracts do not allocate money for organizing and community groups make their biggest mistake by not carefully weighing the temptation to diversify into housing development activities. This new area of expertise for the group requires employing knowledgeable people who possess the skill and expertise in planning and carrying out all aspects of the development project. Unfortunately they often believe that housing will be the financial savior for the group—whereas it has about the same chances of making

money as other small business. Instead of going into housing, groups would be better off working with a struggling neighborhood development organization in the community that already has the experience. A community organization's decision to become the landlord or to sell the properties is important – a landlord is a landlord – and benevolent landlord's are normally wishy washy and can end up being undermined by tenants. (Clarkson, 1987)

- *Managing the relationship with other service providers in the community can be difficult.* Andrea Nagel's master thesis on DSNI addresses the conflict amongst CBO's working in the community. She states that agencies often solicit money for programs that are 'fundable' rather than for those which satisfy greater and as yet unmet needs. Also, Andrea highlights the perennial mistrust felt by the community residents towards the City. They (the residents) have too many sore wounds that have yet to heal for them to enter into partnership free of skepticism.

While DSNI has yet to overcome many of the above mentioned stumbling blocks, especially, its reluctance to actively develop housing. The initiative provides a worthy example of community-controlled development. Perceiving the external threat of displacement and the internal threat of dissolution, residents and local service institutions mobilized in self defense. Among their other choices were allowing the invisible hand of the market to act freely (doing nothing), leading to their inevitable displacement, or residents and agencies could have pursued an avenue of total self-determination like that proposed by the Mandela campaign.¹⁰ Instead the Dudley residents and local service

¹⁰ The Mandela campaign was an effort for parts of Roxbury and Dorchester to secede from Boston and become a separate municipality.

agencies, responded by attempting to control the future of their neighborhood. They created a blueprint for development and obtained control of the vacant land in the neighborhood.



Mural by DSNI Youth Committee

CHAPTER FOUR

AND COMMUNITY-CONTROLLED HOUSING AND PLANNING

I. FLAWS IN THE MODELS

A. General Developer Model

The heavy capital investment associated with real estate development is costly. It is often financed through foreign investment, and if not carefully invested, with adequate attention paid to the realistic demand for the property development, urban renewal may end up burdening the society for years to come. The Stone Group undertook a study in the late 1980's in Kingston to gauge wealthy Jamaicans' interest in a proposed housing development for the downtown area called "Port Royale." The study was designed to broadly survey wealthy businessmen and potential upper income persons in order to measure their interest and/or, the level of interest they perceive others have in residing in the downtown area in general. The study asked a series of questions to people living both outside the downtown area and in the Oceana Towers¹¹ located downtown.

Those who were asked about the Port Royale project and responded that the proposal was a good idea also spoke of the problems which would be encountered in late night commuting to and from a downtown residence. Most believe that the socio-economic gap between the classes is widening. Those who saw the proposal as a bad idea list negatives such as the anti-social behavior of

¹¹ The Ocean Towers, a condominium complex built by the UDC in a previous attempt to revitalize downtown Kingston.

present downtown residents, the high crime rate and the seeming inability of the police to manage/fight crime. They mentioned the likelihood of residents being forced to stay indoors after 6 P.M. (The Stone Team, 1993)

In the Stone group study, 10 percent of the people surveyed felt that people whom they know would buy merely due to the overall housing shortage. The 57% of the respondents who thought that people would not purchase housing downtown gave as their main reasons the congestion, pollution, and what they saw as the general degradation of the downtown metro area. These are serious considerations which may make Jamaicans look elsewhere for housing. The Stone group study, much like Michaelson's study described in Chapter two, indicates that the *effective* demand for Vision 2020's plan for structural gentrification of the area might well be drastically less than they expect and, therefore, heavy foreign and domestic debt may be poorly invested.

The general impression promoted in Vision 2020 suggests that the demand for housing is all consuming and that people will take any risk in order to own their own home—'if you build it, they will come.' There may be a bit of truth in that sentiment because the housing shortage in Jamaica is critical. Estimates of the housing shortage are upwards of 100,000 units, with a demand for an additional 10,000 to 20,000 additional units each year. And in 1991, both the private and public sector combined were only able to complete 3,793 units in the formal sector. (Planning Institute of Jamaica, 1992) However, the numbers relating to the housing shortage appear to overestimate the demand for housing. If the demand for housing was so acute then it would be difficult to explain the 50 percent vacant land rate in the Southside community.

B. Community-controlled Model

The Community-controlled redevelopment model is not without its flaws. A major consideration when planning to undertake a community-controlled redevelopment initiative is that it is a time consuming process. Often physical progress, that can be easily identified and evaluated as 'successful' is evasive in the short-run. Also, redefining institutional relationships and responsibilities is long and difficult. Another common problem facing community-controlled redevelopment initiatives is the difficulty of managing the roles of both community organizer and redeveloper. The different roles often conflict with each other and can cause problems in the initiative's agenda.

II. COMPARISON OF THE TWO MODELS

In this section I will compare the two models based on the series of criteria outlined in the table below.

Issue	Developer Model	Community Model
A. Ability to Mobilize Demand	potential	existing
B. Ability to Mobilize Resources	good	possible
C. Time Line	faster	slower
D. Displacement	more	less
E. Flexible Housing Development	less	yes
F. Community Development Goals	secondary	primary
G. Sustaining A Vital Downtown	high risk	possible

Figure 4.1 Comparison of the two models.

A. Ability to Mobilize Demand

The general redevelopment model presupposes that demand will follow the gentrification process. Middle and upper income residents and commercial activity will be attracted by the real estate development and the potential increase in property value. In the case of Boston, the gentrification plans for the Dudley were where based on the real estate boom underway in Boston in the 1980s. In Kingston, however, the current economic, cultural and political conditions in Kingston do not create an inviting environment for mixed income residential communities or tourists in the near future.

A community-controlled redevelopment model is established in order to meet existing demand. The Southside residents are in the lowest income strata, but, nonetheless create an effective demand for affordable housing. By displacing the existing community, demand for middle income housing will not automatically materialize in its place due to the fact that other disenfranchised communities surround the area and make up the majority of the population throughout downtown Kingston.

By mobilizing the existing demand through a community-controlled redevelopment process, the GOJ will be supporting an effort to confront the problems associated with the persistent poverty entrenched in downtown communities rather than perpetuating the same problems through dislocation to what has, historically, proven to be more severe conditions.

Contrary to popular opinion, and as I described in chapter one, many people of Southside have a resource base from which to draw. Thus, by

wholeheartedly incorporating the community into the development plan, the residents themselves will become invested in the redevelopment and mobilize their own resources to leverage the resources of the community-controlled redevelopment initiative. I argue that creating housing for higher-income people who are uninterested in residing downtown and providing commercial space for a limited commercial market will lead to empty lots and not a booming real estate market.

B. Ability to Mobilize Resources

Inherent in the structure of the general redevelopment model is an existing support base and the political will/influence with which it will be able to mobilize the financial resources necessary to develop commercial and residential space. In Kingston, the KRC has the financial support of USAID with which it also plans on leveraging capital investment from the private sector.

A community-controlled initiative will have to mobilize various resources through a time consuming process of establishing contacts with funders and developing credibility. Meanwhile, the community-controlled initiative can establish less capital intensive programs. In Southside, potential sources of funding are community members, local foundations, credit unions/cooperatives, international donor agencies and building societies.¹² The DSNI has successfully managed to mobilize millions of dollars from a variety of sources such as: the Ford Foundation, the Riley Foundation, PFD, voluntary contributions, and membership support.

¹² Appendix VI describes the actors and institutions in Jamaica which could be potential sources for funding and technical support.

C. Time Line

The general redevelopment model has a powerful resource base and the political backing which will help it progress more quickly towards real estate development. However, in Southside, the general redevelopment model will take a long time due to the difficult land assembly process.¹³ The community-controlled redevelopment model has a slower and lengthy development process. The ground work necessary to establish the structure of a community-controlled initiative and its institutional and legal relationships is neither simple nor quick. In the case of Southside, a community-controlled initiative will also serve as a pioneer project and will most likely take longer to establish. Time will become less of an issue in Southside because the development pressure is unlikely to materialize in a significant way. When the real estate boom slowed down in Boston time became less of an issue for the DSNI.

D. Displacement

A general development model frequently calls for large scale displacement of the current residents. In Southside, the KRC does incorporate some of the residents into their plan with community programs. However, they do plan on displacing the squatters.

A community-controlled redevelopment model avoids displacement, to the extent possible, by accommodating the distinct family needs with flexible housing solutions and social support programs. It does not transfer or augment problems elsewhere. The institution is designed to organize the residents and to be driven by their needs and desires.

¹³The ownership patterns in Southside are such that there are a multitude of owners and the absentee owners and those owners who abandoned the property will be difficult to track down.

E. Flexible Housing Development

The Southside area is fortunate to have infrastructure and ample vacant property. The paved (although in need of repair) streets and lanes are laid out in a traditional grid pattern, and water and sanitation infrastructure still remain. Close to fifty percent of the lots are either vacant or occupied by abandoned buildings. Utilizing the infrastructure and shells of the abandoned buildings will greatly reduce development costs and there is plenty of space to accommodate both present and future residents for many years to come.

The general development model commonly assembles property and develops one major housing development pattern which is repeated or mass produced in various locations. In Southside, this would be difficult to accomplish due to the existing ownership patterns and it would not fully take advantage of the existing infrastructure and structural remnants.

A community-controlled development model is flexible and is designed to meet various housing needs. In Southside, a community-controlled initiative has the advantage of being better able to work with individual community members and can match their needs for home improvements and individual projects. It can also accommodate small scale private developer projects, thus taking advantage of the currently vacant land.

F. Community Development

The general redevelopment model incorporates community development objectives in an indirect fashion to support its primary goal of real estate development. More often than not, the customary developer-led model does not

allocate funding for community development projects. However, in the Kingston case, the KRC does set aside limited funding for community development, but the target group of the funding is not representative of the community at large.

Community development is integral to a comprehensive community-controlled redevelopment initiative. In fact, it is its primary goal. In Southside working with the community residents they will, for the first time, be able to be in control of the development in their community and target resources to the community.

G. Sustaining a Vital Downtown

The general developer model's concept of revitalization is a bustling gentrified commercial and residential area. The KRC envisions an active tourism industry, commercial activity, night life and middle and upper income residential neighborhoods for downtown Kingston. However, if poverty is not confronted in a comprehensive manner in downtown Kingston, attracting middle income residents will be difficult because the Southside neighborhood is surrounded by other ghetto communities that will make it unattractive for middle income people.

The community-controlled development model revitalizes the community by mobilizing the current residents who become invested in the vitality of their own community. By incorporating the community through a community-controlled initiative it may be possible to revitalize the downtown area. By displacing the community the problems associated with poverty will continue, if not worsen.

Improving the conditions for Southside residents may prove to be a replicable model for other communities and be a positive example rather than the negative reinforcement of the high walls and security guards associated with the pockets of isolated wealth of Vision 2020.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis questions the conventional approach to urban renewal and argues for examining the feasibility of an alternative approach. My main contention has been that the urban renewal process planned for downtown Kingston is a) detrimental to the low income populations which fall into the urban renewal's sphere of influence and b) does not realistically examine the demand for the conventional developer approach's property development. In the earlier chapters, I elaborated on both the developer-led model and the community-controlled development model for urban renewal. I showed how the KRC through Vision 2020 is an example of the developer-led model. I also presented the DSNI as an example of a community-controlled development.

I have described how the GOJ's approach to low income housing has followed along similar lines of other developing and developed countries. Sites and service projects and low income housing developments are no longer being pursued. I have shown how the current approach supports private developers' efforts at renewing downtown not with the direct goal of poverty alleviation but by gentrification. Indirectly, through cross subsidization projects and employment generation programs, the developers attempt to appease the low income communities. I have argued that another alternative might be more applicable—a community-controlled initiative, which is part of the broader third-sector movement. While I have not detailed how the community initiative could

be structured in Southside, I have established the ground work for the next step of developing the organization's structure.¹⁴

The community-controlled development model described in this thesis is the more viable solution for meeting the community's needs than is the developer model and it is a critical step in the downtown renewal process. However, neither model is perfect and both alternatives leave us with imperfect solutions. This conclusion is also a beginning. While doing this research, I came across many issues that deserve further attention. This thesis leaves us with the broad question of what will be the next step on the continuum between public, private and the third sector low income housing delivery and urban renewal.

Success of the general developer model is contingent upon attracting wealthy residents and entrepreneurs to downtown. The Stone Survey and interviews with Jamaican professionals provide inconclusive evidence of a sufficient demand for residential and commercial property development downtown. Many factors such as the slow growth of the Jamaican economy, personal and property security concerns and housing preferences indicate that demand may not materialize for the planned development. An important step before investing heavily in downtown redevelopment is to better understand the real estate market in Kingston.

One of the preconditions for sustaining the general developer model is the long term commitment of the Jamaican government or in this case, USAID, to the redevelopment plan. In the Jamaican case, the political dynamics are such that

¹⁴Appendix IV describes the actors and institutions in Jamaica which play critical roles in supporting the housing sector in Jamaica.

support for any one project is unlikely to outlast the four-year term of a political office. Donor agencies also are interested in completing development projects in a timely fashion. It is conceivable that USAID could relocate in the region in the near future or adapt a different agenda.¹⁵ The longevity of the capital intensive development projects is threatened without a reliable funding source.

A precondition for a community-controlled development initiative is to carefully understand the nature of the community, particularly looking for signs of stability and a potential mobilizing force. The housing survey conducted by Elizabeth Philips in the Southside/Tel Aviv neighborhood provides evidence which suggests that there is economic strength and stability within the community. Many people have stable employment, small family sizes and access to resources. Another precondition is to identify interest amongst community members to establish a community-controlled development model. Also it is important to identify local leaders such as the member of parliament, business operators, church groups, etc. and mesh their interests so that they support the community-led development initiative. How do you involve these leaders without giving up control over the organization to them? Establishing this delicate balance between support and control will be a difficult and important step for a community-led development model.

Defining the scope of action of the community-controlled development is essential. Is it possible to establish a community-controlled development model that can both effectively mobilize and advocate for the neighborhood and act as a housing developer? Many community-based organizations concentrate their

¹⁵ Cuba is a potential location for USAID in the future.

efforts in one or the other. The DSNI was reluctant to fully take on the housing developer role and as a result housing is just now being developed—ten years later. In Kingston, a community-controlled development initiative will have to balance the roles of mobilizer, advocate, and developer.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEWS

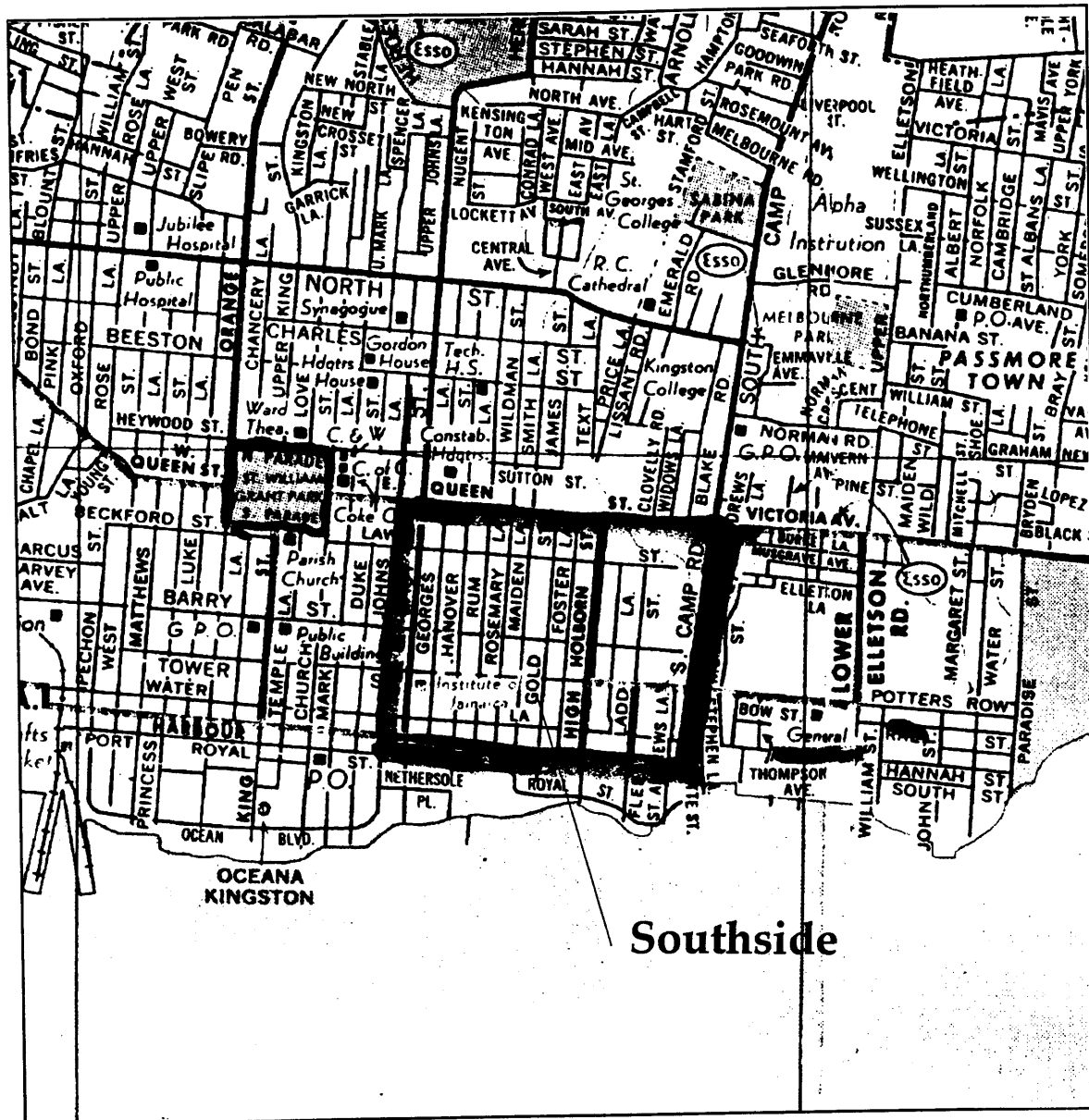
(January 1993 through April 1994)

Name	Title & Affiliation	Place
Alicia Taylor	Lecturer CSA & former-Sociologist, Urban Development Corporation(UDC)	Jamaica
Andrea Nagel	Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI)	Boston
Arthur Heyman	Country Director, Organization of American States (OAS)	Jamaica
Cherrie Lee	Director, Community Services Division, Ministry of Construction (Housing), ((MOC (H))	Jamaica
Clayton Turnbull	Vice President, DSNI	Boston
David Harrison	Lecturer, CSA	Jamaica
Elanor Wint	Lecturer, University of the West Indies (UWI)	Jamaica
Father McLaughlin	Co-Founder of City of Kingston Credit Cooperative (COK)	Jamaica
Francis Madden	Organizer, Grace & Grace Kennedy Foundation	Jamaica
Gene Vendryes	Private Developer/Victoria Mutual	Jamaica
Inspector Spence	Police Planning Department	Jamaica
Inspector Watson	Police Planning Department	Jamaica
Ishemo	Lecturer, Physical Planning Department College of Arts Science & Technology (CAST)	Jamaica
John McCray-Goldsmith	Co-ordinator, Habitat for Humanity	Jamaica
Joseph Beiley	Managing Director, Building Societies Association of Jamaica (BSAJ)	Jamaica
Julia McCray-Goldsmith	Co-ordinator, Habitat for Humanity	Jamaica

Ken Kopstein	Housing Officer, Regional Housing and Urban Development Office For the Caribbean/United States Agency for International Development (RHUDO/CAR/USAID)	Jamaica
Levant Cowan	Projects Director, KRC	Jamaica
Lloyd McCarty	Director, Land Policy & Physical Development Division	Jamaica
Maria Maffei	Finance Specialist, PFD	Jamaica
Marjorie Codner	Head Researcher, UDC	Jamaica
Mr. Ebanks	Housing Economist, MOC(H)	Jamaica
Mrs. McKnight	Librarian, UDC	Jamaica
Mrs. Averil Smith	Social Worker, MOC (H)	Jamaica
Pat Stanigar	Architect & Dean of Caribbean School of Architecture (CSA)	Jamaica
Paul Buchanan	Technical Director, Micro-enterprise Development Association (MIDA)	Jamaica
Reul Cook	Lecturer, Physical Planning Department, CAST	Jamaica
Sharon Flashman	Senior Neighborhood Planner, City of Boston–Public Facilities Department (PFD)	Boston
Steve Hodges	Executive Director, Construction and Redevelopment Corporation (CRDC)	Jamaica
Trevor Spense	Community Director, Kingston Restoration Corporation (KRC)	Jamaica
Vincent George	Head Researcher, National Housing Trust (NHT) & former-UDC	Jamaica

APPENDIX II

Map of Downtown Kingston



APPENDIX III

e-mail message received 4/16/94 from John-McCray Goldsmith, co-ordinator of Habitat for Humanity in Jamaica.

16 April 1994
Kingston

Dear Peg:

...I've been working pretty intensely in Majesty Gardens. We're approaching our groundbreaking there next month. These last couple of weeks we've been doing surveys of applicants, setting up a data base, getting ready to select a first group of beneficiaries to put through a training process, getting the site surveyed, the site layout finished, talking with the water commission, hiring a construction supervisor, etc.

Our part-time volunteer Patrick was late for work today. He said Spanish Town Road was blocked for miles because people from his community had put two corpses on the road in order to get the police to pick them up. One of them was from Majesty Gardens, the other one from Whitewing near Patrick's house. He said they had both been shot by a gang on Sunday night, their bodies set on fire inside of some burning tires, and then dumped in the gully that runs through Majesty Gardens.

The next day people from the community pulled the bodies out of the gully and called the police. Police came and put them in some makeshift coffins and just left them there, saying that they would send the pathologist when he was available. Two days of tropical weather later, nothing had happened, so outraged people dragged the burnt bodies out to the roundabout at Three Miles and flanked the road with the bloated stinking corpses, backing up traffic for a couple of hours on Spanish Town Road until police finally came and recovered the bodies.

I was on my way down to Majesty Gardens with a guy from the National Water Commission to look at the construction site and negotiate some ways to get running water hooked up to the Habitat houses. As we approached, I saw a flat-bed truck drive past loaded with 100 pound sacks of flour. Just behind it, there were 5 or 6 sacks of flour on the road and on the sidewalk. Somebody had jumped on the back and was making off with it, spinning a few furtive looks back at the truck. Several kids were struggling to drag another one into a nearby apartment building. I heard another story today about the same thing happening to a truckload of onions near there.

The community dynamics are fairly interesting. Everyone has electricity, pirated from light poles. No one has a toilet or running water. Most families draw water from standpipes spread throughout the community. The original theory was that people would live in sort of dormitory style buildings with no facilities, and use blocks of collective toilet, water and bathing facilities. These toilet units were rapidly destroyed, stripped of fixtures that could be sold and building materials that could be incorporated into extending the one-room dwellings occupied by entire families. Charitable organizations, including Ziggy Marley, would occasionally come and build new toilet units, and they suffered the same fate. They are also unpopular among women anyway because they were the site of sexual assaults. So they got trashed. People prefer to bathe in the open at the standpipes instead of risking going into the remnants of the bathhouses. I have seen one that is nicely maintained and painted by people in a certain sector, but it is sort of the exception that proves the rule. The rest of them are crumbling shells filled with garbage.

Kind of a planning disaster. You could look at it this way: the place was built to be a ghetto. I got into a similar polemic with the guy from the water commission. He said they would prefer not to run water to each house we build, because they couldn't be sure they would be paid (for) because their meter readers wouldn't be able to enter the community. They preferred a collective standpipe solution, and that the cost of the monthly water bill be included in the mortgage that the family pays back to Habitat. I argued, look, why do you think there is no individual responsibility, because nobody has water to their house and they have to come use these standpipes. We finally agreed on individual household connections with no meter, families would just pay a flat monthly fee.

Logically, people have come up with another solution for human waste disposal. They shit in plastic garbage bags known locally as "scandal bags" and throw them into the gully that runs through the community. Every time there is a heavy rain, the bags float down the current into Kingston Harbour.

The original building in the community were long kind of barracks kind of things, 6 rooms to a side, 12 rooms in all back to back. Each room was occupied by a family. The occupants then built on additions made out of wood and zinc, adding another room to the outside, extending the slope of the roof down. These buildings are all owned by the government. Nobody pays any rent, and they steal electricity, get their standpipe water for free and throw their excrement into the gully.

It's an amazing community though, probably like any human community. I've stumbled across a range of businesses. A big dance hall in the heart of the half-finished 1970's government housing project. Today I noticed a sort of betting hall, horse race betting parlor, people standing around with racing forms listening to the race on JBC. Lots of little groceries. Carol's soap factory. Joel's woodworking shop, Miss Opies's tailor shop. I saw a woman with blue sparkles in her hair. A huge packing crate in the middle of a street with some guys in it beating it apart to use as building materials. A big homemade speaker playing Peter Tosh on Irie FM. I remembered Peter Tosh had been shot to death in his home the day I left Kansas for planning school. Most of the place is incredibly barren, just a maze of zinc walls and gravel and garbage, not even weeds, just stones and zinc. This makes the occasional spot where somebody with a green thumb tries to do something even more of an oasis. The human density is just incredible.

People have their own names for everything. The community is officially, if euphemistically, known as Majesty Gardens. A lot of Kingston ghettos are "Gardens." Seaview Gardens, Olympic Gardens, etc. But the residents have another name for it (Majesty Gardens), "bacto." There isn't much consensus on what it means, some say it comes from back to Africa, another theory is that people never really get out of there. They may go for a while, but they always end up going back to Majesty Gardens. They also have nicknames (pet names, yard names) for one another. One day we were unable to do any interviews of applicant families in their homes because I had only brought the list of people's given names without their addresses. The committee members had no way of identifying them, as they knew them only by their pet names. All but one of the committee members go by other names. Valgena Lawrence is Vee, Macia Walker is Doreen, Leticia is DunDun, Daisy Bryant is Miss Opie, Bernard Lee is Patrick, Linda Tucker is Miss Vyel. Joel is the only one who goes as his given name.

These people are inventive. Renaming, recreating. Rastrafari, Patois. It took me some months to just to straighten that out for myself.

Most of the people who have applied for a loan from Habitat work in the tax-sheltered area called the Kingston free zone where foreign corporations can set up factories and repatriate profits with a minimum of local government interference. The jobs are light industrial assembly jobs doing things like sewing pieces of garments together. And Majesty fits right in to it, it's right at the border of the free zone, a nice pool of desperate labor who have no choice but to work for very low wages...

Respect, John McCray-Goldsmith

APPENDIX IV

Actors and Institutions in Jamaica

In Jamaica there are a number of government and non-government agencies, quasi-public institutions and private organizations that are interested in supporting locally based community development in downtown Kingston and others that are not quite so interested.

Public Agencies

Ministry of Construction/(Housing) MOC(H)

The Ministry of housing has powers under the Housing Act which enables it to acquire, hold and dispose of land (for housing) as a corporation. The Housing Act grew out of the Slum Clearance Act and embodies the Slum Clearance Act in its current form. After consideration of the housing condition of an area the Minister may, under the Housing Act, declare an Area to be 1) a housing area, 2) a Slum Clearance Area or 3) an Improvement Area. Once an area has been declared any of the above mentioned options the Ministry can take follow up actions to provide/upgrade the housing conditions in the area.

Under the *Land Acquisition Act* the Commissioner of Lands has the power of compulsory land acquisition on behalf of the government. This Act specifies that land must be acquired for a public purpose and this is always interpreted to mean for the good of an entire community. It is also very specific in regard to the method of acquisition and the funding of such acquisition.

An example of the application of the Land Acquisition Act in the urban area is the Denham Town Redevelopment Housing Scheme where land was acquired compulsorily by the Commissioner of Lands for the Ministry of Construction and used by the Ministry which constructed over 1,000 units.

The Local Improvement (Community Amenities) Act was enacted in the 1970's. The Act provides for squatter upgrading and can be used if the area is deemed to be in need of 1) roadways, 2) electricity supply, 3) water supply and 4) facilities for sewage disposal. Under the Act the area can be declared a Special Improvement (infrastructure) Area. It is then compulsorily leased by the government for a minimum of ten years and upgraded during that time.

Policy decisions and reduction of manpower within the Ministry of Construction (Housing) have resulted in a discontinuation of new low income housing initiatives by the ministry. However, the MOC(H) does have the power to bring about change in the ownership and land use patterns in the Southside neighborhood.

Urban Development Corporation (UDC)

The Urban Development Corporation is a GOJ parastatal development corporation. The Urban Development Corporation Act empowers the UDC to carry out or secure the laying out of any area of land as an urban area. The UDC can, through the Commissioner of Lands, compulsorily acquire lands for the purpose of carrying out its functions. The UDC has been involved in a variety of land development projects, both of a commercial and residential nature. The UDC is most often involved in upper income housing projects and the rationale for their non-involvement in other projects is that they are a profit making

organization. However, the UDC does get involved in low income communities and, currently, the UDC is working on projects to upgrade the infrastructure in the Southside area.

Technical Support

Association for Settlements & Commercial Enterprises and National Development (ASCEND)

ASCEND is a recent association of representatives from various organizations brought together by the Prime Minister. ASCEND was created as a result of concern about the size and persistently deleterious conditions found in squatter settlements island wide. A recent announcement publicized that there were 600,000 squatters in Jamaica—one quarter of Jamaica's population.

ASCEND claims that they are a developmental non-government organization created by a coalition of organizations. The mission of ASCEND is to improve of environmental, physical, socio-economic, spiritual and psychological conditions in human settlements, including commercial, industrial and recreational areas, established by squatting and land capturing; to assist in the orderly formation of new low income settlements, helping those who have been helping themselves or wishing to do so within a legal framework, and to formulate strategies, programs and projects for implementation through both independent and collaborative initiatives with governmental, non-governmental or other appropriate organizations and directing these initiatives towards the betterment of quality of life in such settlements.

The ghetto should be included within the mission of this association. If so, ASCEND could be instrumental to the development of a Southside Initiative.

However, ASCEND has taken on a large directive and by relying solely on voluntary staff may run into difficulties in sustaining their efforts.

The forth goal of ASCEND for 1994 is to establish an ASCEND revolving fund for 1) community development projects and 2) infrastructure development and to implement projects in six (where did they get that number) new or existing projects. Out of ASCEND's many objectives listed below are those objects which most pertain to Southside.

Primary Objectives:

- 1) to participate in the formulation of strategies and a national program of action to deal with the establishment of new lower income settlements or to assist in the improvement of living conditions in existing settlements established by squatting;
- 2) to assist female heads of households;
- 3) to protect human life and property in informal settlements;
- 4) to promote environmental protection via sustainable development practices;
- 5) to develop affordable standards for low income development of both residential and non-residential;
- 6) to harness a pool of technical expertise to provide **voluntary** professional assistance;
- 7) to establish a source of financial assistance for lower income groups.

General Objectives (only those objectives relevant to Southside)

- 1) to facilitate the provision of housing and employment through the self-help capabilities of those in need;
- 2) to create a land data base of public, private and institutionally owned properties for the establishment of pilot settlement projects, resettlements and the expansion of existing settlements;
- 3) to prepare an inventory of all captured and squatted properties;

- 4) to participate in the improvement and expedition of the land titling process and to develop methodologies to secure the tenure of lower income families;
- 5) to improve the accessibility of lower income groups to financial capital through organizations such as the NHT, BSAJs, MIDA, *Habitat for Humanity*, and others;
- 6) to participate in the proper allocation of land.

Pat Stanigar, Architect and Dean of the Caribbean School of Architecture

Mr. Stanigar is an architect whose Firms office is located in the Southside neighborhood. He is an advocate and considerable resource for the community. He has mobilized support for the community and people who once would never venture into the neighborhood have started coming back—at least during business hours. He is very influential and has contacts with major developers and government officials. Mr. Stanigar has initiated several community development projects and has held training workshops for both community residents and university students. He is also the impetus behind the Southside Square project currently underway. While Mr. Stanigar is making great strides in the community he is concerned that he is neither a local resident nor does he have the technical expertise to continue much deeper into the community development efforts alone.

Construction and Redevelopment Corporation (CRDC) and the Women's Construction Collective (WCC)

The CRDC is a non-profit organization which researches low cost appropriate technology solutions for Jamaica's housing problems. They also provide workshops on appropriate technology, such as hurricane resistant roofs. The WCC is a non-profit organization which has successfully trained Jamaican women to work in the construction industry. The collective has mobilized both

international and domestic grants to provide training and support of the women. I spoke with Steve Hodges who is the director of CRDC and long time resource person for the WCC. It seems likely that CRDC and the WCC are resources that Southside could tap into.

Private Developers

I spoke with Eugene Vendryes, a private developer & president of the developers association, Victoria Mutual. He is a very successful and powerful developer in Jamaica. Mr. Vendryes is not satisfied with what the private sector developers have accomplished in Jamaica because they have not done much to solve the housing problem in Jamaica. The developers have disrupted/relocated communities rather than enhance communities. He made an interesting analogy of how Jamaican developers have destroyed communities as the Army Corps of Engineers destroyed the natural environment when they straightened out a river in Florida and destroyed part of the Everglades. According to Mr. Vendryes, housing developers do not worry about community.

The developers are most willing to get involved in low-income projects through direct government contracts. Also, they are willing to donate personal time. For example, Mr. Vendryes is on the Board of Habitat for Humanity. Amongst the elite and wealthy in Jamaica there is a high level of 'noblesse oblige' which manifests in donations to the various foundations and/or participation on various boards. The task of the Southside initiative is to mobilize this resource.

Habitat for Humanity

Habitat for Humanity recently arrived in Jamaica in 1993 with start up funding from Habitat for Humanity-Canada. There seems to be an undercurrent of faith amongst frustrated housing professionals that Habitat is the solution for low income housing in Jamaica. There is a desperate need to hold onto something or idea to publicly appease peoples demands. The professionals realize that developing a third sector is necessary step to meeting the low income population's housing needs but they lack appropriate technical assistance and pilot projects which demonstrate how to develop affordable housing. Vendryes went to the extent to say that Habitat is the only and best thing that has happened to low income housing in Jamaica.

Unfortunately, Habitat will not be able to solve the low income housing problems in Jamaica alone. I spoke with Julia and John McCray-Goldsmith, the co-ordinators of Habitat-Jamaica. They are planning 40 houses for 1994 of which 20 will be in Majesty Gardens—a squatter settlement just outside of Downtown Kingston, and they have not yet identified a location for the remaining 20 budgeted units. Even though 40 units will not turn around the Jamaica's housing problem, Habitat's provides a needed example and its principals are applicable:

- 1) community-based leadership;
- 2) mutual self aid, encourage people to help each other and
- 3) setting up a revolving fund.

Julia and John feel positively about what can be done, but that people's expectations of Habitat are running very high (see Appendix 3).

Financial Resources

Resident's Savings

As I described previously in chapter one, many residents have a stable income and some accumulated savings. Some residents are already active members of credit unions.

Residents' Remittances

Each year approximately 1.25% of the total Jamaican population migrating each year (Planning Institute of Jamaica, 1991). Contrary to the popular belief that only the wealthy migrate, members of all income brackets migrate. A break down of Jamaican migrants from 1970-1980 by profession is as follows:

- a) 20% professional, technical and administrative;
- b) 20% clerical and sales;
- c) 33% craftsman and agricultural workers, and
- d) 24% household and service workers (Anderson, 1985).

Remittances represent a large resource in downtown Kingston communities. In interviews with community residents many stated that they received remittances on a regular basis and have access to upwards of \$US10,000. Many residents themselves migrate temporarily, primarily to the US, to make money and then come back for the rest of the year. Another source of remittances for some downtown residents through participating in the H-2 farm program (cutting sugar cane) in southern Florida for part of the year.

Regional Housing and Urban Development Office for the Caribbean, United States Agency for International Development (USAID/RHUDO/CAR)

USAID has supported many social service projects and community development efforts in Jamaica. For example, USAID provided some start up

funding for the WCC. They are very involved with the redevelopment plans for downtown Kingston and financially support KRC's community development efforts. USAID has been supporting the traditional development approach to renewing downtown Kingston with the rationale that this method will attract substantial economic development to the area.

National Housing Trust (NHT)

The NHT is the government's main housing financial agency. The trust operates under mandate of the National Housing Trust Act. The NHT provides loans to contributors at subsidized interest rates. Interest rates vary between 6%-8%, depending on the income of the beneficiary, and in 1993 the inflation rate was upwards of 40%. Those earning \$J25,000 or less made up 55% of NHT contributors and accounted for 26% of the total contributions to the Trust in 1988. However, the median annual income of NHT mortgagors was \$J43,000.

I spoke with Dr. Gregory Vincent, currently the head of the research department at NHT and the previous head of research at the UDC. He says that the NHT would like to be more active in low-income housing but because of their mandate they are fairly restricted to working with individual contributors. However, they can work collaboratively. According to Dr. Vincent, the NHT is very interested in working with community-based organizations and other agencies to work towards solving housing problems.

They would like to work with KRC in downtown with the goal of preventing decay and or rehabing old buildings. Primarily, they are interested in restoring the Victorian-like houses to there former glory. Dr. Vincent discussed the possibilities of assembling the land or utilizing the MOC (H)

property and restoring it but, the people that owned the property were not interested in selling because once they hear about the possibilities of development they want to hold onto their properties. The NHT is interested in working downtown because the development costs would be reduced because the infrastructure is already in place. He also talked about working collaboratively with ASCEND because although the NHT can not directly help non-contributors, they can give grants to NGOs. Previously, they have worked with CRDC to do roof projects. The NHT is also interested in working with the credit unions. The credit unions could channel NHT funding to work with non-contributors/low income people. "They want to do something for the poor but right now they can't do much."

Building Societies Association of Jamaica (BSAJ)

I spoke with Mr. Bailey, the managing director of BSAJ. We discussed the Building Societies' role in the provision of low income housing. He was dissatisfied with what the building societies have been able to do for the low income population to date. He described how Building Societies function. They take savings from individuals and from the corporate sector for, principally, long term mortgage financing of up to 30 years. They loan for home improvements, construction of new housing and for the purchasing of existing homes. The Building Societies were created under the Building Society Act of 1897. Not much has been done to revise the Act since then however they are currently trying to revise the legislation. They are not under the regulation of a central bank and are self regulating under the government's fiscal policy (so what?).

I asked Mr. Bailey how can the BSAJ have a greater role in low-income housing finance. He responded that building societies can a) increase home improvement loans, and b) leverage home financing with the NHT part of the NHT mortgage certificate program. Thus, if you are a low income earned and are eligible for a BSAJ 19% interest loan, it can be matched by an NHT loan at 10%. The amount of loan a member is eligible for at either institution is dependent upon the member's income. The member's payments can not go beyond 25% of the member's reported income. If, however, after combining the two loans the total loan amount still does not meet the credit demand of the low-income earner, then the BSAJ will loan to meet the demand. They make this adjustment because they feel that incremental loans and incremental building puts the low income person at a serious disadvantage because the low income earner will never get ahead of the high inflation and the low-income person is made worse over time. Also, the building societies take into consideration that reported income is most often only a fraction of a families total income. However, the risk of default is higher because chances are the mortgagor is overburdening himself. Even so, if correctly managed by all parties involved, this flexible financing mechanism is a powerful source of financing.

I asked about Mr. Bailey about the role remittances played in housing finance. He responded that remittances play a very important role. When people are informed that they are behind in their payments and are in danger of foreclosure and that they need to come in and discuss readjusting their payment plan or other measure to avoid foreclosure, they will come in and ask for a week to get the money from someone overseas. Remittances allow them to pay off their back payments. The low income workers frequently go abroad and pay off large chunks of their mortgages at once and often pay their mortgages in

advance. He said it would be interesting for the Building Societies to design a more flexible mortgage instrument that allowed for the pay off of loans without penalty because many people already do it that way through remittances.

I asked Mr. Bailey how the Building Societies are able to survive and lend at such low rates.¹⁶ This is possible because a large percentage (80%) of their capital are shared accounts (savings deposits) which the Building Societies pay 12% interest to their members. Members save at this low rate to gain access to cheap mortgage financing. Also, corporate accounts keep large long term deposits in the Building Societies in order to leverage mortgage financing. Overall, the Building Societies depend on the low interest savings of an ever expanding client base and a low mortgage lending rate, 45% of portfolio is lent, and investing the other 55% of the deposits in high yielding instruments. The interest rate on BSAJ mortgages has been 19% since January 1990 and the Building Societies play an important role in the provision of mortgages to middle income people of which as we know also have a shortage of affordable housing.

Building Societies are not happy with the extent to which they have been able to lend to low-income, inner-city communities. The BSAJ contributed to the original KRC study of downtown with USAID and the BSAJ is on the Board of the KRC. According to Mr. Bailey, the Building societies are interested in providing housing financing but he sees a number of obstacles that have yet to be overcome. First, the government must work to excel the tenure process (inefficiencies of government) and to review the rent control legislation. He also

¹⁶Building Societies lend at 19% and the rate of inflation is upwards of 40%

felt that the KRC should pay more attention to the interest of the community and he believes that the community should be more involved in the development. Mr. Bailey would like to see more public-private partnerships. Downtown Kingston is a good example of public-private collaboration but that the current problem is the government side of the partnership. The government has been slow in providing tenure and in adjusting town planning regularization.

Mr. Bailey states that private partnership will solidify if the government ensures:

- 1) low cost funds;
- 2) timely tenure process;
- 3) timely regulatory/administrative process;
- 4) basic infrastructure services; and
- 5) appropriate town planning regulations.

Private/public partnerships will increase confidence in government and make people feel better about their government.

Micro Investment Development Agency (MIDA)

MIDA is a governmental small-enterprise development agency which provides technical support and credit for low income entrepreneurs. I spoke with Paul Buchanan, the technical director. Mr. Buchanan assured me that MIDA is dedicated to integrated community development.¹⁷ MIDA is concerned with reversing what Mr. Buchanan refers to as the paradox of thrift-capital flight away from the ghetto. MIDA support is available for Southside residents.

¹⁷Mr. Buchanan defined integrated development as social, structural (physical) and economic development activities.

City of Kingston Credit Cooperative (COK)

I spoke with Father McLaughlin, one of the four founders of the City of Kingston Co-operative Credit Union Ltd. The cooperative has a total worth of over \$J200 million and makes an average of \$J2 million a day. It is the largest credit union in the Caribbean and there are a 100 cooperatives of various sizes and function operating in Jamaica. The COK also offer their service to 200 companies where the members can get pay roll deductions to pay for loans or make savings deposits.

The cooperative pays interest on deposits and the interest rate and fees they charge on their loans are lower then both the commercial banks and building societies. The COK collects payments for part of USAID's Housing Guarantee loans (HIG). They also work with MIDA funds. Father McLaughlin runs the MIDA programs out of COK and teaches training classes for them. COK also gets funding form the Dutch government under a program called GOJ/GON for small enterprise loans.

While we sat in his office a young man, Charles Harris, came in to speak with Father McLaughlin. Mr. Harris lives in St. Ann, a ghetto community on the West side of Kingston bordering Jones Town. Mr. Harris works as a librarian and financed his modest house with a loan from the NHT. By the time his deductions are taken out of his salary his disposable income does not cover his families household expenses sufficiently. He wants to take out a loan to expand his night time business of selling cigarettes and beer. Mr. Harris has brought in a budget and a plan for the business expansion. Father Mclaughlin signed him up for the MIDA program. Mr. Harris will go through a credit training program

and receive a small business loan to buy a few cases of beer, soda, cigarettes and biscuits.

Domestic Foundation Support

Grace & Grace Kennedy Foundation

The foundation provides support for low income families in the downtown Kingston ghettos and squatter settlements. The Foundation's social workers work with community members to organize income generating projects, training programs and other community development activities. I spent a lot of time with Francis Madden, head social worker and organizer for the Grace & Grace Kennedy Foundation. Mrs. Madden has over twenty years of experience working in the downtown communities and was extremely helpful. The foundation has supported Southside community projects in the past and would be interested in working on future community projects. However, Mrs. Madden felt that community participation will be difficult to achieve and very time consuming because many people are preoccupied with meeting their basic needs and are skeptical of new projects and programs. Community participation in structural (physical) projects in the past has mostly led to compliance and conformity not empowerment of the residents. The residents have been asked for input or labor but have not had control over projects in the past and were, consequently, not invested in them.

Multi-Care Foundation

The Multi-Care Foundation is a Jamaican Foundation which has approximately \$US8 million.¹⁸ The foundation is interested in working with the

¹⁸ information provided by Ken Kopstein of US AID.

Southside community. The foundation is heavily supported by the West Indies Home Contractors and the Caribbean Cement Company. The West Indies Home Contractors have moved their offices into the neighborhood along Water Lane.

Churches

Jamaicans commonly proclaim that they have more churches per capita than any other country in the world. However, some church programs have a reputation in the low income community of perpetuating poverty, creating dependency and further stigmatizing the neighborhood rather than empowering the community. At best, the church may get the cooperation of the community and compliance but, the church led programs are unlikely to lead to a high level of community involvement. One exception is the Mustard Seed program, which is a housing program operating in a community just below Sievwright Gardens.

Many of the professionals working in the institutions described above are eager to work on public-private, inter-institutional, non-profit low-income housing solutions. They have come to realize that the problems faced by low income communities is out of control and the GOJ does not have the resources or political will to take them on. Developing a community- controlled planning and housing entity will have a lot of support from financing agencies like the Building Societies and the COK. Along with potential seed money from the Multi-Care Foundation and Grace & Grace Kennedy Foundation and, possibly USAID or other donor agencies. The entity can expect technical assistance from CDRC, WCC, Pat Stanigar, Habitat For Humanity and ASCEND. MIDA, COK and Grace & Grace Kennedy can provide technical and financial assistance for economic development projects. The government agencies are interested in non-

government solutions for low-income housing projects, however timely support from the government is less than likely.

APPENDIX V

Details of DSNIs Comprehensive Strategy

Work Program

- establish priorities in the development program of the neighborhood;
- seek out and pursue new development opportunities, obtain commitments from major equity investors, developers, tenants for the retail office space, and manage the sales for the residential program;
- package development projects and review and work with selected developers for the area;
- carry on continuous and aggressive promotion and marketing program for development projects in the area;
- provide assistance to both the for and non-profit participants in the development project;
- develop and maintain an internal training mechanism for the board members, as well as providing administrative support to the resident planning committees.
- provide the review of the selection process of developers and investors to assure appropriate standards in design, construction, marketing, management and other business procedures;
- negotiate the land acquisition price, terms and conditions of the financing to be provided, the ownership profile objectives and the parameters of the project.

Entity's Authority

- buy and/or sell property;
- borrow and lend money;
- plan, finance, market, and manage new construction and rehabilitation projects in the Southside area.

The entity should function as a convenor, expeditor and catalyst to make certain that necessary steps in creating a first-classed mixed use development will be carried out. It must be prepared to act as the actual developer and initiator of projects if no other alternative is available. In some instances the entity would encourage joint ventures or other mechanisms to achieve the projects objectives.

The entity must assume the responsibility of 'quality control' for each element of the program paying specific attention to:

- property management and security;
- technical assistance for residents rehabilitating/constructing own units;
- appropriate development standards;
- mortgage finance, a negotiated underwriting criteria and mortgage application process is vital to ensure that community residents receive full support and attention, in seeking housing ownership opportunities. There is also a need for a pre-qualification process of potential buyers of the proposed units;
- relocation and displacement—need for counseling and assistance should be planned for as a part of the management entity's staff;
- the decisions of the DSNI board as to direction and management are critical in providing continuity for the planning process. The transition from land planning to acquisition and development is essential in delivering a viable product;
- the issue of residential control, who gets which units, where these are to be located and how they are to be integrated into the fabric of the existing community are crucial to the successful completion of the development project;
- training component.

Financing Strategy

- begin negotiating with pre-identified sources of socially responsible investors (pension funds, insurance entities);
- identify foundations to obtain pre-commitments of support subject to obtaining the City's and lenders support;
- initiate discussions with active mortgage bankers.

Anti-Displacement Measures

Housing counseling to provide residents with *information* and assistance in rental, sales and qualification for financing. Subsidized rental housing. Community action and legislation targeting speculative real estate brokers and developers.

Social Action and Legislation

The focus is to develop community awareness and pressure on speculative real estate practices. Public notices, advertisements and demonstrations are means to identify and deal with real estate brokers, developers and others who would not have the community's interest at heart. Consideration should be given to anti-speculation legislation, anti-speculative tax for property bought and sold in the area where appreciation of property could be taxed if the property was not used in a manner consistent with community objectives.

Human Service Component

- design a community wide strategy which will foster and support the reinvestment of human capital by neighborhood residents increased participation and control of circumstances which affect their lives;

- identify services and strategies which will help the residents of to achieve their goal of community revitalization and maximum self-sufficiency;
- identify techniques and strategies which will increase the accountability of human service providers to the neighborhood which they serve;
- the fourth purpose is to foster greater coordination and provide opportunities for increased agency/resident cooperation;
- existing human service agencies and employment training organizations should be invited by DSNI to request funds to higher an employment/training advocate;
- create a data base of existing skills and needs;
- contacts should be made with existing training and job development entities to meet individual needs.

Marketing Research Approach

Develop focus groups of 8 to 15 people to determine community priorities. This approach differs from the conventional needs assessment survey by expanding the power of who defines the questions and seeing the participant not just as a potential client of services provided by other , but as a consumer, opinion leader or expert.

Public and private agencies and their funding sources, including legislators, should be encouraged to re-examine their roles in the community with regard to:

- encouraging independence vs. supporting dependency;
- developing power vs. enforcing powerlessness;
- financing neighborhood need vs. financing agency operations at the same time, existing service recipients should be encouraged to re-examine their roles in relation to service providers. Many residents by virtue of prior experience, culture and survival

technique have adopted a passive stance. A community dynamic can be created.

Community Review

The focus of this strategy is to provide increased local control of program priority and resource allocation decisions in the human service area. It is anticipated that a neighborhood based and controlled review process will stimulate service providers to increase their collaborative efforts. Through public type hearing processes community residents can express their preferences and participate in setting program and financial priorities.

Accompanying Strategies

- *The FORCE.* The objective is to introduce a new source of pride, dignity, energy and self-help effort that would support existing efforts and mobilize untapped resources. A cadre of Dudley residents would serve as volunteers, communicators and role models infighting crime and drug and alcohol abuse and encouraging job development and other projects.
- *Child Care.* Establish a central Neighborhood Registry for providers and recipients. Determine growth capacity among existing providers. Advocate for additional child care services.
- *Recreation and Athletics.* Establish a resident planning committee for recreation and athletics. Develop and submit a master plan to the city Department of Parks and Recreation
- *Employment and Training Advocacy.* Do a neighborhood inventory of individual employment needs, aspirations and skills, identify support services required and tap existing training and employment services.
- *Earning/Learning Project.* Work with public and private agencies to develop a comprehensive program of individual training, providing child care, stipends, and other support services.

- *A Neighborhood-Based Business Development and Training Unit.* Work cooperatively with government and private agencies, including business schools, to provide entrepreneurial training and support for local residents interested in starting or expanding their own business or being employed by new or existing local businesses.